KASHMIR UNDER THE MUGHALS

1586-1752

BY

ABDUL MAJID MATTOO

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1586 — 1752

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GOLDEN HORDE ENTERPRISES
KASHMIR

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To The Sweat Memory

of

My father Kh. Abdul Gani Mattoo

for

His Truthfulness and Politeness



CHIEF MINISTER
JAMMU & KASHMIR

FOREWORD

It is indeed very heartening for me to see that Dr. Abdul Majid Matoo, Reader in the Department of History, University of Kashmir has completed his laborious work on "Kashmir under the Mughals (1586-1752)" after investigative research and appreciation of facts. Some conclusions drawn by Dr. Majid on the basis of his sincere efforts and assimmilation of facts stand out and offer a challenge to the young reader, who has a disposition towards Kashmir and her problems of identity, economic resurgence and social adjustment.

I have no doubt that this interesting book will be of immense interest for the readers in general and the students of history in particular. Now-a-days we are talking so much about the development and economic prosperity of the people of the State, but it is indispensibly important to know the economic forces that have taken shape in the crucible of Kashmir. People in general are aware of the landmarks of history and political events which find a mention in the history of Kashmir, but an incisive study of the economic forces that have operated on the social millieu has a unique importance and can resolve many enigmas.

I am happy to know that Dr. Abdul Majid Mattoo has made a thorough and chronological study of the political and economic currents, which have culminated into the splendour and significance of Kashmir and it is particularly evident in his narrative of the events between 1586 to 1752. I would feel happy, if the study started by Dr. Majid is brought to include the historical and economic forces which are relevent to our present day situation also.

A unique and important thesis propounded by Dr. Majid relates to the misunderstanding about religious and social conflicts which permeate the valley of Kashmir even till the present day. The intrinsic worth of the people and their thorough understanding can be seen from the scholars and profundity of thought displayed in the great art, literate and handicrafts produced in Kashmir. The Choas and confusion has been attributed to the extraneous forces and the understanding and depth of mind are unmistakably discernible in the folk lore, music, drama, dance, painting, architecture and social rituals.

Dr. Abdul Majid is a young historian and on the basis of his intellectual pursuits I am quite hopeful that he will produce many more works of lasting beauty and value and I wish him success in all his scholarly endeavours, which will not cover the routine journey into the past, but hold out a bright promise for the future.

Srinagar, the
Aug., 1988.

(Faroqq Abdullah)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT :

I must show how grateful I am to my teacher Prof. M.Z.U. Siddiqui of Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh who put up with me while I was busy in preparing my thesis which is the basis of this work.

I should be failing in my duty if I do not express my feelings for the encouragement and affectionate advice of Matheri-Meharban Begum Shaire Kashmir Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.

I am not less grateful to Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami of Aligarh Muslim University and words fail me to express my gratitude to Prof. Irfan Habib without whose encouragement and ge-nerousity in guidence, it would have remained only a dream.

My grateful thanks are due to Prof. S. Maqbul Ahmed former Director of C.C.A.S. for his valuable suggestions and who included this work in the publication programme of the Centre of Central Asian Studies. I owe my gratitude to Prof. Mohibbu'l Hasan formerly Head Department of History, Kashmir University and also to Prof. A. Ansari of Jamia Millia Islamia for their valuable suggestions.

My sincere thanks are also due to the Staff of Research Library of Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, M.A. Library and Research Library of J&K State.

I owe my thanks to my wife for her pains she has been taking all along despite her heavy schedule of work, and in the face of strain and stress.

INTRODUCTION

The Mughal *Subah* of Kaṣhmir dates back to Akbar's annexation of the region consequent upon the brushing aside of the feeble resistance offered by the Chak Sultan to the aggressive forces of the Mughals in 1586. This political upheaval unnerved the Kaṣhmiri people as it involved the loss of independence and the forcing upon them an alien political and social order. But the change gradually proved to be a mixed blessing as it ushered in an era of wider political and social relations, peace and tranquility, social and sectarian harmony, promotion of industry and trade, opening up of new trade routes, extension of the Mughal system of administration, development of gardening with requisite irrigation works, architectural activity and followed in its wake the remarkable growth of arts and letters, education and learning and the catholicity and universal tolerance preached and practised by a number of the ṣūfī orders which found in Kashmir a very fertile soil to function and flourish.

The continuity of a stable rule in Kashmir and the establishment of peace and order and the security provided by the might of the Mughal arms reassured the people who had become sick of the intrigues and rebellions under the weak Sultans of the declining Chak dynasty and felt relieved at being placed under the powerful rule of the Mughals. The promotion of industry and trade through the security on roads and opening of better routes connecting far-fleeing areas and throwing open the outside world to the merchants and traders and the people of Kashmir afforded unique opportunities for the economic development of the region, bringing about new social attitudes by brisk contacts with the people of the other parts of Mughal India and the foreign countries and breaking the age-long isolation of Kashmir to which both nature and man had contributed and which the Mughal domination had smashed up.

Yet the Mughal adventure in Kashmir was not actuated by any philanthropic motives to extend the blessings of peace to the troubled northern state or to associate the people of Kashmir in the grandiose task of building up a welfare state in Indian in which the Kashmiri genius would also be blended to make a distinct contribution. The aggressive endeavours of Akbar to extend his sway over Kashmir, or preferably to bring about its annexation to the Mughal Empire, was

prompted both by imperialistic designs and considerations of the defence of the Empire which was increasingly menaced by the growing Uzbek Empire. If the outlying northern and north-western regions were to be firmly secured in the Mughal hands, both Kabul and Kashmir should be acquired, strengthened, pacified and garrisoned so as to counter-poise the threat from the Uzbeks or any other Central Asian powers which might assume alarming proportions in future. The strategic and military importance of Kashmir rendered it both a source of weakness to the Mughal Empire if placed in hostile hands and a region of strength and tactical superiority if wrested from the local power and absored into the Empire. And Akbar was not a man to fail or falter once he had set his heart on an adventure if he had dispassionately come to realise its indispensability as to further his interests. The occupation of Kashmir and the subsequent Mughal acquisitions of Little Tibet, Great Tibet, Sarshāl, Damyāl, Damtūr, Pakhli, Noushahra, Rajouri and Punch pushed forward the Mughal boundaries to the natural frontiers which considerably facilitated the task of the defence of the Empire by man no less than by nature. Herein lies the true significance of the Mughal advance into Kashmir.

Another factor which *might* have impelled the Mughals to try their hands in Kashmir seems to have been the pleasures and respite which the enchanting valley of Kashmir with its famed scenic spots, superb natural beauty, bracing and healthful climate, its colourful flowers, variety of fruits, game birds and animals offered to the visitors and the Mughals were attracted to these enjoyments to pass the summer days in the valley to avoid the scroching heat of the Indian plains.

The opportunity to fish in the troubled waters of the politics of Kashmir was provided by the weaklings who sat on the Kashmir throns in the days of the decline of the Chak Kingdom, the faction fight among the self-seeking nobility, slackness in administration, diminution in revenues and the Shia-Ṣunni conflicts which destroyed the peace the order in the society. The feable attempts of Yusuf Shah Chak and the inexperience of Yáqūb Shah Chak to mobilise the energetic elements in the Chak nobility to serve the ends of the Sultans led to the Kashmir 's disaster and its passing into the Mughal hands. The attempts of the recalcitrant national elements to reassert independence subsequent to 1586 were foredoomed to failure as they lacked the resources to fight against the mighty Mughal Empire.

The loss of independence to the Kashmiris in 1586, despite the many good and beneficial aspects of the Mughal rule was a disaster of great magnitude. It undermined the spirit of independence, self-realisation and the flowering of the martial characteristics of the Kashmiri people who constituted merely an insignificant element in the Mughal army. The prolonged Mughal rule, 1586-1752 was followed by the Afghan and Sikh occupations and the spirits of the Kashmiri people were ultimately dampened by the loss of opportunities for the self-growth.

The Mughals had given unity to the region and with the rest of the Empire, Uniformity of administrative set-up, extension of agriculture, growth of trade and commerce, maintenance and opening up of trade routes, export of shawls and woolen textiles to different parts of India and foreign countries, the laying out of numerous beautiful gardens and monuments and the beautification of scenic spots and above all the tremendous boost to tourist industry by the royalty, nobility and aristocracy and the social elite so much so that the link line of the Empire with Kashmir was well-frequented and briskly busy. The annual royal visits together with the court paraphernalia had contributed to the well-being and importance of Kashmir. Poets say praises of the beauty-natural and human-of Kashmir. The famous verse from Urfi portrays this feeling palpably:

هر سوخته جانے که به کشمیر در آید   گر مرغِ کباب است با بال و پر می آید   عرفی

But the Mughals, being an Imperialist power, chiefly interested in the exploitation of peasantry and the resources of Kashmir as elsewhere in India, did very little to bring about the real happiness and welfare of the masses, extension of irrigation and agriculture, the urbanisation and enrichment of the people and the return of dividents to the workers and the tillers of the soil.

Unfortunately very little work has so far been done on the history of Kashmir notwithstanding the great importance which the study deserves. Only a few published works exist on the subject, particularly the scholarly work of Prof. Mohibbul Hasan entitled, *Kashmir Under the Sultans, 'A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, 1320-1819' by Dr R.K. Parmu, *'Kashir'* by G.M.D. Sūfi and the like. The last two works are sketchy and sweeping as regards the history of the Mughal Ṣubah of Kashmir some work is being done in Jammu and Kashmir on the ancient, modern and the Sultanate periods but the history of Mughal Kashmir is sadly neglected. Hence the present work is an humble attempt to fill this great lacuna.

Since a systematic work on all the aspects of Mughal Kashmir is as such too extensive I had to make a study of the history of the Ṣubah of Kashmir with particular emphasis to the various facets of administration and society while at the same time giving necessary treatment to other aspects like the history of art and literature political developments, economic affairs and the like.

There is one heartening factor on the history of Mughal Kashmir. The source material bearing on the history of the period is abundant and varied. It is spread over in a number of libraries, archives, archaeological remains, museums, personal collections and religious literature in numerous shrines and religious places. I have interwoven the widely scattered segments of this mass of historical sources to construct a picture of the most conspicuous aspects of the history of the Mughal Ṣubah of Kashmir.

SOURCES

The period under review is rich in source material and it is not possible to describe and evaluate each source separately.

Historians who have utilised the sources have discussed the importance of many of the general source books but their utility in regard to the history of the Ṣubah of Kashmir requires further explanation.

The material at our disposal can be classified as under :

A History works of a general character
B Provincial sources
C Administrative manuals
D Tadkiras and Epistolary Collections
E Travellers' Accounts
F Archaeological evidence.

A. History Works of a General Character

Official, and semi-official chronicles and other historical works written during our period can be included in this category.

Akbarnama by Abul Faẓ'l, *Akbarnama Faizi, Munṭakẖab-ut-Tawārikẖ* by Badauni, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri, Iqbal Nama Jahāngiri, Ma'asir-i-Jahāngiri, Shahjahān Nama*, Qazvini, *Badshah Nāmā*, Lahori and *Bādshah Nama* or Wariṣ, *Amal-i-Ṣāleh* by Kumbu,

Alamgir Nāmā Mohammad Kāẓim, *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri* by Sāqi Musta'id Khān, *Wāqiāt-i-'Alamgiri* by 'Aqil Khan Rāzi and *Munṭakhab-u-Lubāb* by Khāfi Khān are well-known sources of our period.

Akbarnāmā by Abul Faẓl

The historical and literary qualities of *Akbarnāmā* have been dealt in detail by a number of scholars, who have utilised this source book. Research papers have been produced by various scholars about penmanship of Abul Faẓl.

Kashmir was annexed in 1586 A.D. and during the three visits of Akbar, Abul Faẓl accompanied him to Kashmir. Having been understanding of the problems, Abul Faẓl provides us an interesting account of topography, Mughal-Chak relations, Mirza Haiders' rule in Kashmir, description of routes and land revenue reports. The topographical information and chronology with a few lapses are correct.

Akbarnāma by Faiẓi is only a supplement to the above work. There is no extra information in this chronicle.

Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri

Leaving administrative evidences aside, the importance of *Ṭuzuk* lies in the graphic, exhaustive and unbiased account of socio-economic conditions of Kashmir. The *Ṭuzuk* contains information about birds, flowers, fruits, agricultural and forest products, houses, dress, diet and manners of the people. Social life of Pakhli, Punch, Rajouri and Kashṭawār have been also discussed.

The information about the routes leading to Kashmir is detailed and descriptive.

The *Ma'āsir-i-Jahangiri, Iqbal Nāmā Jahāngiri and Jahāngir Nāma* by Abul Hasan do not give us any new information. These works, as a matter of fact, are suppliment of the *Ṭuzuk*.

Shahjahan Nama Qazvini, *Badshah Nama* Lahori, *Badshah Nama* Wariṣ, and *Ámal-i-Sāleh* by Kumbu provide us with information about administrative, social and economic conditions. A detailed description of the gardens and monuments of the period is very interesting. Qazvini has covered the first decade while Lahori the

first and second. Wariṣ and Kumbu narrate the description of the whole reign of Shahjahan.

Lahori and Kumbu have given us a comprehensive account of the routes leading to Kashmir and the inns constructed on the routes. The description of the Tibet expedition and topographical information of the region is also quite interesting feature of Lahori's work.

The chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign do not contain any new information about our Ṣubah, However, the administrative changes which took place from time to time have been well recorded.

The sources of other nature like administrative manuals, epistolary works, Tadkiras of saints and ṣūfis help us in analysing the various institutions of the society of this period.

B. PROVINCIAL SOURCES

Raja Tarangini by Shrivara written in 1597 A.D. is the only contemporary Sanskrit source of Kashmir of the period. The narrative is very brief and there is no sequence of events. There are only a few dates which makes it further confusing. I have consulted the English translation of this work by J.C. Dutt.

BAHĀRISTĀN-SHĀHI

It is a Persian work by some anonymous writer in an ornate style. It was completed in 1614. The events leading to the downfall of Chaks and ascendance of the Mughals are exhaustive. But the subsequent events after the transfer of Yousf Kh̲ān Riẓvi are very brief.

There are two manuscripts of this in the Research Library, Srinagar and one in British Museum. The BM manuscript is more detailed and complete. The chronology is defective. However, the activities of Yusuf Shah and Yáqūb-Shah in exile have been given a fair treatment.

Tārik̲h̲-i-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chādūra, is a comprehensive history from very earliest times to 1620-21 A.D. The author accompanied Yousf Shah Chak in his exile. After his death, he was given the lofty title of *Chugta'i* and *Ráisul-Mulk*. The *zamindāri* of his native place was also assigned to him by Jahangir.

It throws light on social and political institutions of the period. A detailed account of Kashtawār and Punch expeditions have been well narrated. But the author always eulogizes the wisdom and courage of his family, the Maliks.

Mukhtasar Tārikh-i-Kashmir by Narayan Koul Ājiz was compiled in 1710. It is an abridgement of Haidar Malik's work. It is sketchy and brief.

There is a list of parganas along with the number of villages in each parganah and revenue figures.

I have consulted three manuscripts of this work available in Research Library, Srinagar, and one in the Department Library of the History Department, AMU., Aligarh. The last one is complete.

Nawādirul-Akhbār by Aba Rafi-ud-Din Ahmed. It was compiled in 1723. The ancestors of the author had come from Balkh, but he himself was Kashmiri by birth. The author discusses the social and ṣūfi movements at length, but he has overestimated the influence of religious factor in the civil wars. The work, though defective in chronology, gives some new information about the social life.

Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir by Mohammad 'Azam was compiled in 1748. It consists of three divisions. The first is based on the information of Kalhans' *Raja-Tarangini*, the second deals with the Sultanate period, and the third with the Mughal rule. It is a biography of Ṣūfis, Saints and Scholars, but side by side throws light on the administration of the period. The events of the Aurangzeb's reign are more comprehensive. There are occasional reference about the economic condition of the people also.

Labu Tawārikh is a political history by the same author compiled in 1164/1750. It does not contain any new information.

Gouhar-i-'Alam by Mohammad Aslam Mun'ami is a history from earliest times to the close of 12th century Hijri. It is an abridgement of *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*. The author had the same sources at his disposal which were used by Mohammad Aẓam (father of the author). It does not provide us with any new information.

C. ADMINISTRATIVE MANUALS

A'in-i-Akbari is a work unique in its nature. It is a mine of information for the administrative and economic history of the period. The Chapter on revenue system is exhaustive. The social aspect of the period has not been neglected. It contains information about fruits, vegetables, and other novelities of Kashmir. The Chapter on shawls is also detailed.

The topographical information is but defective. Nevertheless its translators particularly Jarret help us in indentifying various places described in the narrative.

It is strange that the various manuscripts of the work vary from one another. Blochmann's edition is comprehensive and more reliable, but the India Office Copy is earliest, and more authentic. Nowl Kishore edition of 1889 is a verbetam copy of Blochmann's edition.

Gulshan Dastūr by Nath Pandith bears the date Hijri 1120/1710-11, but events of later dates have also been recorded. The last event is regarding the *Ṣubahdari* of *Sukh* Jiwaṇ who was Nazim of Kashmir after the Afghan occupation in 1752 A.D.

It is a voluminous work in verse and prose consisted of 73 chapters (Gulshan) each chapter has a few sections (Būṭas).

It is a mine of information so far socio-economic history of the period is concerned. The *Ijaradāri* system and *rais* of various crops have been conspicuously described.

The manuscript is complete but the loss of one chapter on revenue statistics is irreparable.

Tārikh-i-Hasan

The author has followed the style of Āin-i-Akbari while compiling his monograph in four volumes. The influence of Mughal Historiography is predominant, but the contacts with Mr Walter Lawrance have also broadened his vision. It is a late 19th century work.

The first volume pertains to geography of the *Subah*. The second volume contains the information regarding socio-political conditions, third volume deals with the religious movements and gives us a detailed information about the life of the ṣūfis and saints.

Miscellaneous information is made available to us in the fourth volume.

Being a monumental work of 19th century, the author claims to have had access to various sources which are not extent now. As such he has provided us with some extra information.

D. TADKIRAS AND EPISTOLARY COLLECTIONS

Asrārul-Abrār by Dāūd Mishkwāti was compiled in 1653. It is a biography of various Ṣūfis and Saints, occasionally throwing light on socio-economic and political history of the period.

Khawāriq-us-Sālikīn

The author Mulla Ahmed bin Abdus Ṣabūr has compiled this work in A.H. 1109 as derived from the Chronogram "*Khawāriq-us-Sālikīn.*"

Mullah Ahmad was a disciple of Khawajagi Mohammad Hāshim.

It is a treatise on the life of various Ṣūfis and Saints of Kashmir since the advent of Islam down to his own period. Besides their spiritual discourses, he has also highlighted their activities in social, religious and cultural fields.

Tuhfatul-Fuqarā of Mohammad Murād Tang was written in A.D. 1710-11. It is also biography of Ṣūfis and Saints. The author has great reverence for Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi and his successors. He provides us information about their disciples in Kashmir, besides the activities of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi : occasional references regarding life and times of the people is of immense value.

Rouzatul-Ārifin by Ẓiyā-ud-Din Kashtawāri is a biography of Qadiri Saints of Kashtawar who introduced Islam in Kashtawār. It was written some times in 19th century. The author was a *Sajadanishīn* of Shah Asrārud-Din's shrine. The manuscript in the Research Library, Srinagar, is in-complete and defective.

Epistolary collections in Research Library, Srinagar; edited by various persons are mainly of Aurangzeb's period. A Collection edited by Abdus Ṣamad of 40 folios, other Collections by anonymous (Acc Nos 3102, 2776, 2193, 2675) and letter collection in S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar provide us with information on social, economic and administrative conditions of our period.

E. EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS

St. J. Xavier, and Bendict-de-goes were the first known European travellers who set foot on the soil of Kashmir in 1597. The account of the Fathers is very brief. The *Ṣubah* of Kashmir at the time of their arrival was in the grip of a terrible famine.

Their account, though short, throws light on economic conditions of the people and the effects of the Mughal conquest have also been highlighted.

Pelsaert's Account about Kashmir is also sketchy. It gives us some information about the trade and commerce of the *Subah*.

Berneir's Account

Of all the travellers's account, Berneir's account is most exhaustive, and lucid. He starts his narrative about Kashmir as soon as the imperial camp enters Bhimbar territory. His topographical information is reliable. It is rich in information so for social life, economic conditions, arts and crafts is concerned. The account about Ladakh is inconclusive and defective.

Desideri and Father Fryre came to Kashmir in 1714 on their way to Tibet. The Fathers remained in the valley for a number of months, which enabled them to give us an accurate account of social, and economic life of the people. It is very important source as far as the trade and commerce of Kashmir with the Little and Greater Tibet, Central Asia, Nepal and Bhutan is concerned.

It contains information about the political Geography and the borders of Ladakh and Tibet also. De Filipi has rendered its Italian version into English.

George Forster came to Kashmir in 1783. He has published the account of his travels in two volumes. It throws light on the social and economic life of the people. His topographical information is reliable.

The accounts of travellers who visited the valley in the 19th century, like Moorcorft, Philip Yefremove, George Trebeck, G.T. Vigne, Frances Younghusband, Fredric Drew and A.H. Francke give detailed information about social and economic life and the topography of the whole *Ṣubah*.

F. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

The period under review is rich in archaeological evidences. There are numerous living examples of monuments, gardens, Inns, bridges, and shrines, which help us in formulating our views on the various aspects of Mughal Kashmir.

INSCRIPTIONS:

Some of the inscriptions on archaeological works are very important e.g., the inscription on the Jamiʿa Masjid at Srinagar gives us information about the abolition of certain taxes imposed during the reign of Jahangir. The inscription on Akbar's fort at Srinagar is also valuable. There are other inscriptions available to us on the gates of old mosques like Mosque of Mulla Akhwand Shah, Khanqāhi Sheikh Ḥamza and the Walls of Verinag Spring, Chashmashāhi and on the inns on the Mughal route leading to Kashmir.

This is a concise account and brief evaluation of some of the more important source material. A select bibliography of the sources utilized in the preparation of the book is given at the end.

ABBREVATIONS

ĀIN	Āine-Akbari
A.N.	Akbar Nāma
A.S.B.	Asiatie Society of Bengal
R.A.S.	Royal Asiatie Society
R.P.D.	Research & Publication Deptt. of J&K State
Tuzuk	Tuzuki-Jahāngiri

Section I
POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE

CHAPTER : 1

THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN KASHMIR-ANNEXATION, EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION

Kashmir was formally annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1586 but the process of occupation had started much earlier. With the decline of the Shahmir dynasty, the refractory nobles and claimants to the throne solicited the help of the Mughals to strengthen their own claims.[1] But the final blow was struck by the conquest of Mirza Haidar Duglat in 1540, as the subversive activities of the nobles and the chieftains had already set in motion the process of the decay of the Shah Mir power. The internal disturbances exposed the kingdom to foreign aggression. The chaos and confusion resulted in the breakdown of the administration. The tributory states withheld payment of tribute and in due course of time broke away from the centre. The successors of Sultan Zainul-Ābidin were not able to administer the kingdom efficiently. This situation sapped the vitality and strength of opposition to foreign aggression.

The conquest of Kashmir by Mirza Haidar Duglat was an event of great significance. He invaded Kashmir twice. In 1533, he was acting as a commander of Sultan Sa'id of Kashghar. Pursuing an expansionist policy Sultan Sa'id directed a campaign against Ladakh. After the conquest of Ladakh the Mirza marched to Kashmir. The guards of Zojilla pass were taken by surprise. They were defeated but Mirza left Kashmir in the same year,[2] leaving behind a demoralised army and a Sultan whose pride was badly hurt.

During the next decade the Mughal Empire suffered a terrible reverse. Humāyūn was defeated by Shershah. The former decided to proceed to Kashmir. Meanwhile Mirza Haidar was approached by Abdāl Magray and Regi Chak for help against Kāji Chak.[3] The Mirza also suggested to Humāyūn to march to Kashmir. But he declined to accept their proposal on various grounds.[4] Mirza Haidar alone proceeded to Kashmir in 1540, and defeated the disarrayed forces of Kashmir.[5] The *K͟huṭba* was recited and coins struck in the name of Humāyūn.[6] But the Mirza allowed Nāzuk Shah to continue as titular Sultan. Mirza Haidar divided the entire land of Kashmir among himself, Malik Abdal Magrey, and Malik Regi Chak.[7] The *K͟hāliṣa* land

shrank and the nobles were also deprived of their property. In order to strengthen his position, Mirza Haidar Dughlat put down the Shi'ites with a heavy hand. He sent a copy of *Fiqah Ahwat* to the 'Ulama of India who repudiated it and wrote a decree of remonstrance against its author,[8] and his followers who were mainly the Chaks.[9] The Chak nobility had a strong position in the kingdom. The contumaceous nobles joined hands with the opponents and thus got rid of Mirza Haidar Duglat by killing him in an encounter in 1550.[10] Verily his death caused a vacum in the administrative set-up of the *Ṣubah* which was not filled until the administration of the *Subah* was reorganised on a sound footing.

Nāzuk Shah was succeeded by Ismail Shah in 1555 for the second time.[11] He was just a titular head and it was Ġāzi Shah who virtually ruled the kingdom.[12] He did nothing to heal up the wounds of the nobles caused by the Mirza's tough rule, but laid hands on to crush them further. He assassinated Malik Daulat Chak and himself became the *Vazir.*[13] Malik Shamsi Raina escaped to India to seek the help of Emperor Humāyūn.[14] During his stay at the Court, Humāyūn died, and Shamsi Raina left the court in disgust. At Lahore he met Shah Abul Maali who had escaped from the prison.[15] They collected a contingent of three to four thousand men at Delhi and Lahore[16] and marched to Kashmir. But Ġāzi Shah forestalled the invading forces by inflicting a defeat at Hanjiwera [16a] in 1558; Shah Abul Maāli had a narrow escape. This success puffed him up with inflated pride and he adopted a ruthless policy towards the suspected nobles.[17] Meanwhile Ismāil Shah died in 1557. Ġāzi Shah proclaimed his nephew, Habib Shah, as King. In 1561 on account of Habib Shah's incompetance he himself ascended the throne and laid the foundation of the Chak dynasty.[18] During his regency Akbar was approached by the refractory nobles. Thereupon Akbar despatched Qara Baḥādur with a force of 7000 soldiers against Ġāzi Shah in 560,[19] but Kashmiri nobles did not back Qara Baḥādur and he marched towards Rajouri.[20] Ġāzi Shah also marched against him and Mughal forces were routed with a large number wounded and killed.[21] Qara Baḥādur was compelled to retreat. The result of this defeat was that Akbar did not launch any attack for about twentysix years. Ġāzi Shah was a strong ruler. He had oppressed the refractory elements within and garrisoned the passes and out posts.

Nevertheless, in the forthcoming years Akbar kept a vigilant eye on the developments in Kashmir. He accredited four missions to Kashmir in order to get up-to-date information about the internal conditions.[22] Meanwhile Gāzi Shah died of leprosy and he was succeeded by Hussain Shah in 1567.[23]

As already mentioned Mirza Haidar Duglat had adopted a policy of repression towards the non-Hanafites and Shiá nobles were suppressed with an iron hand. The Chak Sultans attempted to avenge the wrongs committed by the Mirza. As such the communal frenzy had the upper hand during this period.[24] In 1568-69, Yousf Āindār, an ordinary soldier abused Qāzi Habīb who was hastening on horseback to lead the Friday prayers. The Qāẓi hit him with whip, but Yousf Āindār injured him with his sword.[25] This incident aroused the feelings of the Sunnis. The Ulama convened a meeting under Qāẓi Mūsā, Mulla Ṣāleh Ganāi and Mulla Yousf. A decree for the execution of Yousf Āindār was issued.[26] Husain Shah had no alternative but to yield under their pressure.[27] Since Qāzi Habib was injured, the Shi'its considered the execution of the culprit unjustified. In the same year Akbar had sent Mirza Muqīm and Mir Yáqūb to the court of Sultan Hussain Shah.[28] Sultan Husain Shah entrusted the case to Mirza Muqīm.[29] The envoys had a soft corner for the Shiás, as they also were from the same sect.[30] Mirza Muqim suggested the prosecution of the defaulting Qāẓis. Husain Shah acted upon his advice, executed Qāẓi Musa and Mulla Yousf. Their bodies were draged around the city which caused a terror among the Sunnis.[31] This act alienated the Sunnis and a section of them under the leadership of Mulla Ábdulla, Ali Koka and Doni Koka,[32] proceeded to the Court of Akbar to appeal him to intervene in Order to redress their grievances, Akbar was eargerly awaiting such an opportunity. He got Mirza Muqim and Yáqūb Mir executed.[33] Mulla Abdullah, Doni Koka and Ali Koka were also imprisoned.[34] He also sent back daughter of Husain Shah who was offered in marriage, together with the presents. A majority of the people thereafter looked to Akbar for vindication of the wrongs of the Chaks. Akbar deputed another delegation immediately to Kashmir comprising Mulla Áshqi and Qāzi Ṣadruddin in 1573 to ask Áli Shah to accept the Mughal suzerainty.[35] The envoys succeeded in their mission and on their return submitted a detailed report to Akbar on the assessment of the internal condition which was the real motive of this mission.[36]

ᶜAli Shah was succeeded by Yousf Shah in A.D. 1580 but he was soon ousted by Mubārak Khān Baihaqi.[37] The latter was on his turn deposed after a brief occupation of three months and Yousf Shah was again proclaimed the Sultan. However, on account of the mutual dissensions he was again dethroned and Lohar Chak was declared the Sultan.[38] Disgusted and disappointed at the turn of affairs Yousf Shah Chak left for Lahore, via Jammu to invoke the help of Akbar through the instrumentality of Sayyid Yousf Khān.[39] From Lahore, Yousf Shah Chak was accompanied by Yousf Khān and Raja Man Singh, governor of Lahore to Fatehpur.[40] Haidar Chak was sent back to Kashmir to keep an eye on the developments in the kingdom, but Yousf Shah remained at the court for about one year. A contingent was sent along with Yousf Shah Chak under the command of Raja Man Singh, Yousf Khān Mashhadi and Yousf Khān Rizvī.[41] At the advance of the Mughal army the Kashmiri nobles were alarmed. They approached Yousf Shah Chak through Abdāl Bhat to convince Yousf Shah about the futility of such a conquest.[42] Leaving the Mughal forces at Sialkot Yousf Shah proceeded towards Lahore[43]. Mohammad Bhat was awaiting Yousf Shah at Bahlolpur with an army of one thousand soldiers.[44] He marched to Lahore post-haste and with their efforts a contingent of 4000 men was raised to march on Kashmir via Rajouri — without any Mughal assistance.[45] On account of favourable conditions Yousf Shah was able to regain his throne in 1580.[46] This act of Yousf Shah roused the Jealousy and anger of the Mughal nobles who were apparently to restore him to the monarchy of Kashmir. Akbar was now too enthusiastic and precipitate to bring Kashmir under his suzerainty.[47] But his hands were tied elsewhere to allow him to prosecute his design in right earnest.

In 1581, Akbar sent Ṭāhir and Mirza Ṣāleh ᶜAqil with a *farmān* demanding personal homage on the part of Yousf Shah,[48] who was reluctant to attend the court in person because he had been overawed by the grandure of Akbar's Court.[49] He sent his son, Haidar, along with the envoys and some rich presents.[50] Mirza Ṣāleh had reported to Akbar about the demoralised state of Yousf Shah.[51] Akbar sent back Shaikh Yaᶜqūb Ṣarfi and Haidar who was in the Court as a hostage with a concilliatory letter,[52] directing him to persuade Yousf Shah to attend the court in person. Yousf Shah was alarmed and he sent another son and successor Yaᶜqūb with enormous presents. Yaᶜqūb remained at the Court for one year. [52a] During this

period he kept Yousf Shah informed about the intentions of Akbar. Despite these ominous developments, Yousf Shah neglected administration,[53] and failed to make vigorous efforts to meet the Mughal menace. Akbar on his part was alert, vigilant and fully determined to undertake an offensive in the north. He mobilised his army with intent to gain controls across the Northern frontier to achieve the annexation of Kashmir.[54] But on the other hand Yousf Shah was slack, vacillating and unprepared and led a life of ease and comfort[55] ignoring the portaits of the events to come and the imploring his nobles.[55a] Since Yousf Shah did not heed the imperial demand of personal homage to Akbar. The latter decided to move in person if Yousf Shah failed to come to the Court at Lahore.[56] Yāqūb Chak learnt of all this and stole his escape from the Mughal camp advancing to Lahore and reached Kashmir to apprise Yousf Shah of the new developments.[57] Meanwhile Akbar had deputed two envoys, Hakim 'Ali and Baha-ud-Din to persuade the Sultan to attend the Court in person.[58] Yousf Shah went to receive the envoys as far as Thana, because he was alarmed at the truancy of Yáqūb Shah.[59] The Sultan escorted the envoys to Srinagar. He received them with great respect, but was still hesitant to agree to attend the Court in person. Some Kashmiri nobles, like Baba Khalil, Bābā Maḥdi, and Shamas Dōni threatened Yousf Shah with dire consequences should be leave for the Mughal Court. They also decided to depose him and install his son on the throne.[60] The envoys left for the Court and reported to the Emperor about the state of affairs prevailing in the kingdom.[61]

Akbar wanted to expand his Empire in the South, which was not possible without a secure Northern frontier.[62] The growing power of Uzbek Empire, situation of Kabul, Roushnāi menace and refractory attitude in the North could have easily entraped Akbar in the South.

Above all the enthusiasm which was roused among the nobility in Kashmir to protect their country because of constant interference from Akbar, might have also cautioned Akbar. The Chak nobles decided to defend the kingdom at the cost of their lives,[63] and Akbar did not allow them to consolidate their position. In spite of the onset of winter, Akbar deputed a considerable force under the command of Mirza 'Ali Akbar Shahī[64] and Haidar Khān[65] in December 1585.[66] Yousf Shah Chak moved towards Baramulla under the pressure of the nobles to meet the invading forces.[67] The Mughal forces encamped at

the narrow defile of Pargana Dachan-Khawura.[68] After arraying the army, Yousf Shah marched towards the peak of Kuarmast. Skirmishes had already started near Belesa.[69] The rigorous climate[70] and the enthusiasm shown by the Kashmiri forces[71] proved a hazard to the Mughal advance. They sued for peace. Bhagwan Das sent a message to Yousf Shah to his camp.[72] In the morning Yousf Shah came down pretending to inspect his advance guard and slipped to the Imperial Camp[73] alongwith Mirza Qāsim, son of Khawaja Mahdi Koka and Latif Najār.[74] Meanwhile Shaikh Yáqūb Ṣarfi persuaded the *zamindars* of Karnāv to cooperate with the Mughal forces.[75] On the other hand the Chak nobles approached Hasan Beg to accept the command in the absence of Yáqūb.[76] Yáqūb escaped from the Mughal Court and was proclaimed Sultan. He did not approve of the role of this father. Fighting continued fiercely around Belesa.[77] Owing to the adverse climate conditions, and the shortage of food and fodder, the Mughal forces were disheartened.[78] Meanwhile alarming news came from Kabul as to Shams-ud-Din's reverse. Under these circumstances, Raja Bhagwan Das sued for peace. A treaty was concluded partly setting out terms with Yusuf Shah and partly with the new Sultan, Yáqūb Shah.[79] Yousf Shah was promised safety of life and restoration of the kingdom of Kashmir.[80] But Akbar did not ratify this treaty[81] and Yousf Shah was handed over to Todar Mal as an ordinary prisoner.[82] But on the departure of Mughal forces, Yáqūb Shah asserted his position as independent Sultan under the title of Shah Ismail.[83] Since Akbar could not tolerate such a state of affairs, he was so much annoyed with Raja Bhagwan Das that he was not granted audience for a long time.[84] In 1586, Akbar asked Shah Rukh Mirza to attack Kashmir, but he was reluctant to comply with, on account of his past experiences.[85] On the other hand Shah Ismáil overestimated his success. He did not try to bring closer the two Muslim sects. Being a Shiá of extreme views, he asked Qázi Mūsā to include the name of Áli in the prayer call.[86] On his refusal Qazi Mūsā was assassinated.[87] His religious fanaticism and extremism alienated the Sunnis from Ismail Shah.[88] The Shahmir nobility was also active from the very beginning to over throw the Chak rule.[89]

As already mentioned above Shaikh Yaqūb Ṣarfi had acted as a guide in the first expedition and pursued the Kashmiris for submission,[90] played a vital role against Yáqūb Shah. He had considerable influence over the Kashmiris, therefore, he was deputed

along with Mohammad Qāsim Khān Mir Bahar on the expedition. While he was in the Court, Baba Daud Khāki, an eminent learned scholar of Kashmir also met him and informed him about the developments in Kashmir.[91] Meanwhile the victorious Mughal army crossed into Kashmir and after a few skirmishes Mohammad Qāsim Khān entered the capital on 16th October, 1586.[92] Kashmiri forces were demoralized and disintegrated, but they resorted to guerilla warfare. Mohammad Qasim Khān was so much demoralized by the continued pressure and harassment from the Kashmiris that he sent his resignation to Akbar.[93] But it was not accepted. On both sides there was considerable loss of life and property. Each of them tried to overpower the other and regain the control over the strategic points. But the arrival of fresh contingent under the command of Yousf Khān Rizvi infused new blood in the Mughal army.[93a] Kashmiri forces gave way under the pressure of the Mughals.[94] Yaqūb Chak fled to Kashtawār.[95] In order to weed out refractory nobles both humane and deceitful means were adopted to consolidate the newly acquired territory. The demoralized nobles were persuaded to trust the Mughals, while on the other hand the hostile nobles were crushed.[96] This mixed policy of suppression and pacification began to bear fruit and on the instigation of Mohammad Bhat, Lauhar Chak, son of Ibrāhim Chak, and Ismāil Nāik surrendered before Yousf Khān Rizvi.[97] However, Yaqūb Shah, Mahmood Bhat,[97a] Shamas Dôni, Shamasi Chak and Abul Maāli son of Mubārak Khān Baihaqi, continued the confrontation, which as a matter of fact, did not serve any useful purpose.[98] When Yāqūb Khān failed to overcome the Mughals, his associates surrendered to the Mughals along with Abul Maāli, Shamsi Chak, and Shamas Dôni.[99] They sued for peace through Sayyid Bahāuddin.[100] They were sent to Akbar and he granted them favourable *mansab*,[101] but they were not allowed to return to Kashmir.[102]

Having broken the backone of Kashmiri forces, Yousf Khān Rizvi now turned towards Bahram Nāik, Saif Khān Baihaqi, Ali Khan and Iba Khan brother of Haidar Chak.[103] Bahram Naik was poisoned along with his family members,[104] Saif Khan Baihaqi, Ali Khān, and Ibrāhim Chak were blinded.[105] But Yāqūb Chak escaped to Kashtawar again.[106] Meanwhile Yousf Khan Rizvi was directed to leave for Kabul. He left Kashmir under the charge of Shah Baqir. On the persuasion of Latif Najar[107] he imprisoned Sayyid Shah Abul Maāli, Alam Sher Khan, and

Lowhar Chak.[108] This did not help the Mughals to maintain peace in the *Ṣubah*. On account of this deteriorating situation Yousf Khān Riẓvi was sent back.[109] Sayyid Abul Ma'ali was released from the prison and sent to serve Raja Maṇ singh.

In 1589, Akbar decided to visit Kashmir.[110] On his arrival common people thronged to see the Emperor but the belligerent chieftains were alarmed.[111] But Akbar had come to heel their wounds and patch up with the opponents and disarm them through persuation.[111] The opponents were handsomely rewarded and the Emperor tried his best to elevate them.[112] Yāqūb Shah also paid homage to Akbar at Shahab-ud-Din-Pura.[113] He was warmly welcomed and sent him to Lahore to serve under Raja Man Singh.[114] Subsequently letters were sent to Abdullah Khān Uzbek making out a case in favour of the Mughals and the circumstances lead up to the whole incident of the annexation of Kashmir.[115] Then Kabul campaign was launched and envoys were sent to the rulers of both the Tibets to accept the overlordship of Akbar.[116] In persuance of his expansionist policy Akbar wanted to overawe the Uzbek Emperor to keep his hands off from Kabul. The rulers of Tibet Khurd had had been providing shelter to the Chaks, as they too were reprimanded and cautioned lest they should create any trouble when the Kabul campaign was in progress.

Owing to prolonged warfare and constant mobilization of armies the economy of the kingdom was badly affected. The atrocities of the occupation army had created chaos and confusion throughout the *Ṣubah*.[117] Both agriculture and trade were in a deteriorating condition. Administrative set up was in a mess and the downfall of the local ruling clan had badly affected the morale of the people. Akbar immediately diverted his attention towards streamlining the administration and redress the grievances of the people. He introduced a number of reforms in order to bring the administrative and economic set up in tune with that of the Empire.[118]

In spite of all checks and restraints, rewards and appeasement a heroic but unsuccessful struggle continued against the Mughals up to 1622 and even later whenever the Kashmiris had a chance to rebel against the imperial rule.[119] Such an opportunity was afforded to them in the winter of 1590 when the *Ṣubahdar*, Yousf Khān Riẓvi, was absent from Kashmir. Akbar had sent Qāẓi Nūrullah and Qāẓi Ali to reassess the revenues of Kashmir on a complaint lodged by Pandith

Ṭoṭa Ram and Laṭif Najār,[120] charging the governor with misappropriation of revenues. The complaint proved to be correct and based on facts. The revenue was enhanced. But Yousf Khān Riẓvi objected to this enhancement as the *Ṣubah* constituted his *jāgīr.*[121] So the land was attached to *Khālisa* and the soldiers were paid in cash.[121a] Yousf Khān Riẓvi had gone to attend the Court leaving behind Mirza Yādgār in-charge of the *Ṣubah.*[122] In his absence a servant of Husain Beg molested the wife of a servant of Riẓvi.[123] The disaffected group raided the house of Husain Beg but on account of the interference of Baba Wali and Qāẓi Āli the dispute was resolved,[124] but Husain Beg invited some of his opponents and put them to death.[125] This incident ignited the fire and a mass rising took place to overthrow the Mughal rule.[126] Darvesh Ali, Adil Beg, Yaqub Beg and Imam Quli with other servants attacked Husain Beg and Qāzi Ali. They took shelter in the Nāgar-Nagar fort,[127] meanwhile the rebels approached Mirza Yādgār; he readily accepted the offer and declared himself King in 1000 A.H./July 1592.[128] Qāzi Ali was killed and Husain Beg escaped to Rajouri.[129] On hearing this, Akbar directed Sheikh Farid Bakhari, Mir Murād, Khawaja Fathulla Shirāzi and others to proceed on Kashmir. Ṣādiq Khān was despatched via Punch.[130] The *zamindars* of Punch and Punjab, peasants of surrounding areas and a contingent of ahadis under Ali Akbar were directed to march against Yādgār Mirza.[131] He had left the passes unguarded[132] and the attacking forces entered the territory without any resistence. When Yādgār Mirza learnt of the approach of the army he marched towards Herapura.[133] Sheikh Farid Bakhari posted himself at Herapora[134] Shahbāz Afghan and Sard Beg Turkamān attacked Mirza Yādgār in his compound and beheaded him immediately.[135] When the incident was related to ʿAdil Beg, who was holding charge of the city, he escaped silently to the Deccan.[136] Mohammad Quli Beg showed the severed head of Yādgār Mirza to Akbar at Bhimbar.[137] The hand of the local *zamindars* in the Yādgār rising was discernible,[138] therefore, Akbar thought of some strategem to befriend them. So with a view to attaching them to the imperial Court through matrimonial relations. The daughter of Shamsi Chak a powerful *zamindar* was married to Akbar and the daughters of Mubarak Khān and Husain Chak were wedded to Prince Salim.[139] Some of the nobles also followed suit in marrying girls of Kashmiri nobility which did a lot in cementing bonds of affinity.[140] In spite of these efforts minor rebellions still continued. In 1596-97, an old person appeared in Shahābād Parganah pretending to be ʿUmar

Shaikh Mirza, son of Mirza Sulaimān. A large number of Kashmiris and about a thousand Badakhshis followed him, but Mohd Quli Khān, the then governor of the Ṣubah arrested him and sent him to the Court.[141] Another attempt was made by Shamas Chak in 1600 A.D. which was foiled immediately.[142]

On the other hand the Mughals followed a ruthless policy in putting down the rebels. In 1594, Hāji Mohammad and Yousf Ḍār were exiled to India. During the same period Muhib Ali, the Foujdar of Dechan Khawūrā, killed a large number of Kashmiris near Mattan.[143]

Akbar's death did not put an end to the recalcitrant Kashmiri elements and the oppressive measures continued to weed out the anti-Mughal elements.[144] Mirza Ali Akbar, the Governor, entraped Ẓaffar Khan and his followers through Qāzi Saleh by promising them handsome rewards and *mansabs.*[145] They attended the Court of ʿAli Akbar Shahi who got them imprisoned and ordered a general massacre of Chaks near Rainawari.[145]b This hunt continued for a few days. Ẓaffar Khan, Habīb Khān, ʿAli Khān, sons of Yousf Khān and Naurose Chak, were also murdered.[146] Their bodies were displayed for a couple of days and were at last disposed of by the residents when their dicomposed bodies produced offensive smell.[147] The final blow to the insurgents was struck by I'taqād Khān in 1622,[148] who combed down the Chaks and freed himself for the remaining period from the rebels. Having normalised the internal situation, the Mughals diverted their attention to bring the tributory states to submission.

1. Mohibbul Hasan *Kashmir Under the Sultans*,p. 7.

1. Philip Yefremove was a Russian traveller who ramained in Tibet from 1778-80 and spent one winter in Srinagar. His Russain account has been translated into English by Kemp, P.M.

1. Humāyūn, Shershah, Kamrān, and Akbar were approached from time to time by these chieftains, which ultimately led to the downfall of the Shah Mir rule. Sea also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Chapter VI.

2. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultan*, p. 129

3. *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 486.
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 145

4. *Firishta*, II, p. 355

5. *Firishta*, II, p. 355
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, ff. 107-8
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 139, 142, 145

6. Ibid.

7. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 107b.

8. *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 435 See for details, Islam in India, Vol 2, "Nurbakhshis in Kashmir" by Dr. A.M. Mattoo.

9. *Bahāristān-i-Shahi*, ff. 78-9.
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 131b.

10. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 147b.*

11. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 122b.
Ismāil Shah was son-in-law of Malik Kaji Chak.

12. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 377 *Bahāristan-i-Shāhi*, f. 117a

13. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 123b.

14. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 154
His father was killed by Gāzi Shah.

15. *A.N.*, I, p. 16

16. *A.N.*, II, pp. 101-2.
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 155a
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 124

16a. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 389. it is a village 14 miles in the North-west of Srinagar on Baramulla Road. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 125. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultanas*, p. 150

17. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 158

18. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 383.

19. *A.N.*, *II*, p. 129.
Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 389
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 157

20. *A.N.*, II, p. 129
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 157.

21. A.N. II, p. 129.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 150-1.
Qara Bahādur was assisted by Sultan Nāzuk Shah also.
Suka, *Rāja Tarangini*, p. 384.

22. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 183b.

23. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 169a.

24. *Firishta*, pp. 363-4.
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 127b.

26. *Firishta*, II, p. 363. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 127

27. *Firishta*, II, p. 363.

28. *Firishta*, II. p. 364, *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 128

29. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 128

30. *Firishta*, II, p. 364.

31. *Firishta*, II, p. 364.

32. *Baharistān-i-Shāhi*, f. 130

33. Firishta, II, f. 364.

34. *Bada'uni*, II, pp. 124-25.

35. *A.N.* II, p. 247, Hasan-Bin Mohd Al-khāki, f. 44a.

36. *Firishta*, II, p. 366, *TAhqeeqāt-i-Ameeri*, f. 88b.

37. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 335

38. *Firishta*, II, p. 366, *Iqbal Nāmā*, II, 335. Malik Haidar, 175a

39. *Firishta*, II p. 366, *Iqbal Nāma*, II, p. 335

40. *Firishta*, II, p. 366

41. According to Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 176b. Yousf did not receive any help from Akbar, he returned empty handed to Lahore does not seem correct. See
(i) *Baharistan-i-Shahi*. f. 157.
(ii) *(Hasan-Bin Khāki* f. 46b.
Arguments advanced by Dr. Parumu, *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 266, are not convincing.*

42. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 157

43. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 176a

44. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 176a

45. *Bahāristāni-Shāhi*, f. 157
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 176. *Firishta*,p. 366.

46. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-Kashmir*, f. 180

47. *A.N.*, III, p. 537. *Firishta*, II, p. 366.

48. *Badauni*, I, p. 189 *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, II, p. 259

49. *A.N.*, III, p. 389. *Tahquiqat-i-Ameeri*, f. 88b.

50. *Malik Haidar*, f. 184a

51. *A.N.* III, p. 390.

52. Ibid. (ii) *Ahasanu-Tawārikh*, f. 446b. (iii) Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 184b. (iv) *Gouhar-i-Alam*, p. 221. According to Kashmir sources, Akbar returned the presents and Haidar pressed Yousf Shah to come in person. But it has not been mentioned in *Akbar Nama*.

52a. *A.N.* III, p. 450

53. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 184b.

54. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 133-4.

55. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 184b

55a. *Bahāristān-i-Shahi*, f. 172b.
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 184b.

56. *Firishta*, II, p. 367

57. *A.N.* III, p. 509. *Iqbal Nāma*, II, p. 388.
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 187a

58. *A.N.*, III, p. 509. *Ma'asir-i-Rahīmi*, II, p. 261.

59 Malik Haidar, *Tarikhi Kashmir* f. 187b. In *Firishta*, II, p. 367
it is mentioned as Thatta which is a clerical mistake
Ma'asiri-Rahimi II, p. 261, has given the name as Bhandar which is not tracebale.

60. *Firishta*, III, p. 367
Ma'asir-i-Rahimi, II, p. 261
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 187.

61. *Firishta*, II, p. 367.
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 188.

62. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol IV, p. 134.
V.Smith, *Akbar, The Great Mogul*, pp. 232-40.

63. Malik Haidar, *Tarīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 188a

64. *A.N.*, III, p. 376 *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, III, pp. 355-6.

65. Haidar Khan was given a *jagir* by Raja Man Singh in Bhimber. He fled to Punjab on account of animosity with Yousf Shah, Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 188b.

66. *A.N.*, III, p. 476. *Badūni, I, p. 189.*

67. *Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 189-9.

68. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 188
According to *A.N.*, III, p. 480, the army was stationed at Kuarmast and Yousf Shah encamped on the otherside of river, Nain Sukh, (*A.N.* III, p. 480), which is at present called Kanhar. It is a tributory of River Jhelum.

69. *A.N.*, III, (Beveridge), p. 724 n.
R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 276n.

70. *A.N.*, III, p. 480

71. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 109b

72. Baghwan Das was also called Baghwant Das.
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 190.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 61.

73. A.N., III, p. 480.

74. Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, p. 632. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 390.

75. A.N., III. p. 480.

76. Ibid.

77. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 191.

78. A.N., III, p. 480.
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 190

79. A.N., III, p. 481. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 392.

80. A.N., III, p. 481

81. A.N., III, p. 481.

82. Badāuni, *Muntakhi-but-Tawārikh*, II, p. 353.

83. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 192

84. A.N., III, p. 488

85. A.N., II, p. 493.

86. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 400. A.N., III, p. 502

87. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 192.
Iqbal Nama, II, p. 400
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 181.

88. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 400

89. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, ff. 181-89.
Malik Haidar, *Tarikhi-i-Kashmir*, ff. 145-192, 193-195.

90. A.N., III, p. 480.

91. *Gauhar-i-'Alam*, f. 233. Baba Dāud, Khāki was a disciple of Shaikh Ḥamza Makhdoomi.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 184, A group of Kashmiri Ulama proceeded to the Court of Akbar from Multan. They were led by Shaikh Yáqūbi-Ṣarfi and Baba Dāūd Khaki. They concluded a treaty with Akbar and promised their help unconditionally. But neither the contemporary Mughal sources like, A.N., Badauni, *Firishta*, nor Kashmiri sources support this. However, it is beyond doubt that the Sunnis helped the Mughals during this period, as they could not face the tyranny of the Chak rulers.

92. A.N., III, p. 506. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 410. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 198. For the details of the incidents and battles, see Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Chapter IX & X. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol II, p. 48, has given 1588, which is incorrect.

93. A.N., III, p. 523. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 189. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, (tr. J.C. Dutt), p. 413.

93a. Suka, *Raja Tarangini* (tr. J.C. Dutt), pp. 413-14.

94. A.N., III, p. 509, (Iqbal Nama, II, p. 402.

95. *Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f. 193.*

96. A.N., III, p 523. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 195.

97. *Bahāristān-i-Shahi*, f. 191. Mohammad Bhat was an influential noble of Kashmir. He was *wazir* of Yousf Shah Chak also. On account of luxurious attitude of Yousf Shah their relations deteriorated.

97b. Muḥ Bhat of Abul Faẓl, *A.N.*, III, p. 506

98. *Baharistān-i-Shāhi*, f. 193.

Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 202-3.*

99. Malik Haidar, *Tarikhi-i-Kashmir*, f. 193

100. *A.N.*, III, pp. 516, 523
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 194.

101. *A.N.*, III, p. 528. *Bahāristan-i-Shāhi*, f. 194.

102. Ibid

103. *Bahāristan-i-Shāhi*, f. 194.

104. Ibid, f. 195a.

105. *A.N.*, III, p. 523
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 195a

106. Ibid., f. 196b.

107. *A.N., III p. 595.*
(Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, ff. 197, 204ab, calls him Lūlla Najar but according to Hasan Beg Al-Khaki, f. 35, his name was Latif Najar. He was given the title of Nādirul-'Aṣri by Akbar.

108. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 196.

109. Ibid

110. *A.N.*, III, p. 542
Baduni, *Muntakhabut-Tawarikh*, II, p. 371.
Akbar entered Srinagar on June 5, 1589/25th Khurdād, 34th R.Y. According to *Nawadirul-Akhbār*, f. 119, it was in 996H/1587 is incorrect. The chronogram of the visit given by him Khair Muqadam is also incorrect as it is equivalent to 994/1505. According to Mohibbul *Hasan*, Akbar visited Kashmir in June 1588., *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 192.

111. *A.N.*, III, p. 540

112. Ibid.

113. *A.N.*, III, p. 541. This village is situated on the confluences of River Jhelum and Nalla Sindh.
Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 417

114. *A.N.*, III, p. 557.
Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 417

115. *A.N.*, III, pp. 522-3

116. *A.N.*, III, p. 553.

117. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, tr. J.C. Dutt, p. 416

118. *A.N.*, III, p. 557. *Iqbāl Nama*, II, p. 410
Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, tr. J.C. Dutt, pp. 420-1.

119. Malik Haidar, *TariKH-i-Kashmir* off. 204 a-b.

120. *A.N.*, III, p. 595. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, ff. 204a-b.

121. *A.N.*, III, p. 595

121a*Akbarnama*, III, p. 627

122. *A.N.*, III, p. 618

123. *Iqbāl-Nama*, II, p. 429
Husain Beg Khan was appointed as *Diwan* in 1589. See Chapter III, Section I, II, for details See also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*,tr, W.H. Lowe, II, pp 394-95

124. *A.N.*, III, pp. 617-8. *Iqbāl Nama*, II, p. 429

125. Ibid

126. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 204

127. *A.N.*, III, p. 619

128. *A.N.*, III, p. 618. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 415
According to *Inshāi-Abul Fazl*, p. 29, this incident took place in 31 R.Y. corresponding to 1586. It appears to be a clerical mistake.

129. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 204b.

130. *A.N.*, III, p. 618

131. *A.N.*, III, pp. 618-20.

132. Ibid, p. 623

133. Ibid. (ii) *Gulshan-i-Balāgat*, ff. 50-1.

134. *Gulshan-Balāgat*, ff. 50-1. Hastivanj, of Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 419. According to the same authority Yādgār Miza was killed by his own servants. Yādgār Mirza was not brother of Yousf Khān Rizvi but his cousin. *A.N.*, III, p. 617. *Māsirul-Umara*, III, p. 316, R.K. Parmu, has wrongly mentioned that the author calls him nephew of Yousf Khān Rizvi, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 292n.

135. *A.N.*, III, pp. 623-4 *Gulshan-i-Balāghat*, ff. 50-1

136. *A.N.*, III, p. 624. *Gulshan-i-Balāghat*, ff. 50-1

137. *A.N.*, III, p. 623

138. *A.N.*, III, p. 626

139. *A.N.*, III, p. 626

140. *A.N.*, III, p. 626

141. *A.N.*, III, p. 723. *Iqbal Nama* II, p. 452

142. *A.N.*, III, p. 784

143. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 205a.

144. Ibid, ff. 205-6b.

145. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 208a.

145bRainawari is a Mohalla of Srinagar

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid, ff. 209a-210b.

148. *Waqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 125

FURTHER CONQUESTS AND EXPANSION

I. Relations with Askardu & Ladakh

Perennial civil wars under the Sultans subsequent to the death of Zainul-Ābidin and foreign intervention had adversely affected the relations subsisting between Kashmir and the tributary states. The disintegration started earlier, reached its climax during the Chak rule. After the Mughal annexation in 1586 the adjacent terrirotires particularly Kashtwar and Tibet-Khurd had become the refuge of defeated Kashmiris. These refractory nobles were a constant source of trouble to the Mughals, and a threat to the Mughal rule in Kashmir. As such the Mughals felt free to divert their attention and make a bid to bring about the subjugation of the vasal states viz., Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Kashtawār and Punch.

During his first visit in 1589, Akbar sent two envoys Mirza Beg and Mulla Tālib Asfahāni and Mehtar Yāri to Little and Greater Tibet respectively,[1] in order to persuade ʿAli Rāi[2] of Askardu 2ᵃ not to extend help and assistance to the Chak rebels, and probably to Safeguard the northern frontier against any possible attack from the Uzbeks. The Chieftains were asked to accept the Suzerainty of Akbar. In 1592 Ali Rai entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Mughals. His daughter was married to Prince Salim.[3] Yet he did not desist from coming to the succour of the Chaks.[4] In 1603, he came in person to help Iba Khān, son of Husain Khan and Zafar Khan, but returned to his own territory without any encounter with the Mughals.[5]

ʿAli Sher himself was following a policy of expansion in the region. In 1592, he attacked even the territory of Greater Tibet.[6] The ruler of Ladakh gave his daughter to ʿAli Sher in marriage,[7] besides surrendering some adjoining territory which was annexed with Askardū. Jamyang-Namgyal, the ruler of Ladakh, was allowed to retain the rest of his territory.[8] Ali Sher Khan had three sons, Ādam Khān, Abdāl and Ahmad Khān.[9] During his life he assigned Parkota and Kartakhsha[10] to Abdāl Khān. Ādam Khan was appointed heirapparent and Rounda was assigned to Ahmad Khān. After the death of Ali Sher Khān in 1622,[11] his sons fought for succession. Abdāl was triumphant and Ādam Khān escaped to India.[12]

It has been mentioned above that ʿAli Sher Khān had a desire to bring the entire region under his sway. He annexed Rounda, Shigar, and the adjacent principalities. A fortress was also built by him on the

confluence of the Gilgit river and Shyok.[13] Thus he has left a powerful kingdom to his son Abdāl Khān. Growing power of Abdāl Khān and his policy towards the Mughals was a sufficient cause for the Mughal intervention in this region. As a matter of fact this territory was never reduced to virtual submission.[14] Any further delay would have been futile to the Mughal interests in Kashmir, particularly when Mughal relations with Ṣafvids and Uzbeks were strained.[15] This opportunity was provided by Ādam Khān. With a view to avenging his defeat at the hand of Abdal Khān, Adam Khān sought the help of Shahjahan[16] who directed Zafar Khan to march against Abdāl Khān. In September 1637, Ẓafar Khān marched against Abdāl Khān at the head of 8000 soldiers.[17] Meanwhile Abdāl Khān had garrisoned his newly built fortresses of Kechna and Kharpoche.[18] He left the fortress of Khechna under the charge of Muhammad Murād.[19]

On arrival at Askardu, Ẓafar Khān divided his army in three sections—under Kunwar Singh Kashtawari and Muhammad Zamān a relative of Farhād Beg Blouch, Hussain Nāik along with the *zamindārs* of Kashmir and the third group under his own command. Abdāl had left his family in fortress of Shigar under the care of his minor son.[20] Ẓafar Khān deputed a contingent under Mir Fakhruddin to attack the fortress of Shigar, which compelled Abdāl Khān to come out of impregnable fort of Kharpoche.[21] But he failed in his attempt and the Mughals carried on the operation according to their plan[22] under the able guidance of Ādam Khān.[23] But he made good his escape and left for Kashgar leaving the rest of the family behind in the fort.[24] When Abdāl Khān came to know about the fall of the fortress, he sued for peace through Shādmān Pakhliwāl.[25] He surrendered the fort in September, 1637, and the *khuṭba* was recited in the name of the Emperor.[26]

The expedition culminated in success on account of the superiority of Mughal arms and superior strategy rather than treachery.[27] Ẓafar Khan brought Abdāl Khān along with his family to Kashmir.[28] A *Thānedār* was also appointed in Shigar[29] while the Mughals were advancing in Tibet, Abdāl had deputed sons of Habīb Chak and Ahmad Chak to create disturbances in Kashmir, so as to compel the Mughals to return, but they were not successful in this attempt.[30] Since the winter season was approaching and there was no way to return, so Ẓafar Khān had no alternative but to leave for

Kashmir as soon as possible. He entrusted the territory to the *vakīl* of Abdāl Khān.[31] Shahjahān did not ratify the treaty and Zafar Khān, on his arrival to Srinagar, was asked to attend the Court.[32] Ādam Khān was appointed as *Tai'nāti* in Kashmir with a *manṣab* of 500/200,[33] which was enhanced to 1000/400 in 1638[34] and Askardū was assigned to him in *jāgīr*. In 1640 he was appointed *Qiladār* of the fortresses of Kharpoche and Khechna.[35] Ādam Khān died in 1656, and Askardū was assigned to Murād Khān, nephew of Adām Khān.[36] His rank was increased to 1000/1000 in 1074 A.H./1663-64.[37] It may not be out of place to mention that Ādam Khān was administering his *jāgīr* of Askardū as an absentee landlord from Srinagar through Mirza Khān,[38] Mirza, in the absence of his master, proclaimed independence. Ādam Khān marched against him with Mohammad Shafi and Ālim Beg who were sent to him in 1666-67[39] for assistance. Imām Quli Khān had already accepted the overlordship of the Mughals. Shigar was assigned to him in *jāgīr*.[40] Thus the whole of Baltistān and Askardū were brought under the suzerainty of the Mughals.[41]

1. *A.N.*, III, pp. 552, 569
2. He was only a chieftain of the principality of Askardū. He was called Āli Sher Khān and was successor of Gāzi Mir. (i) Cunningham, *Ladakh*, etc. pp. 30-34. Zanskār, Nubra and Rukchu. The terrority is bounded by mountain range of Korakuram, tributaries of Indus and on the south-east by Lāhul and Spiti now a territory of Himachal Pradesh. Cunningham, *Ladakh*, etc. pp. 18-22. (ii) Hashmatullah Khān, pp. 503-4. He was accepted as an overlord by the petty chieftains of Shigar, Purik, Sūru, and Drās, collectively called Little Tibet and Greater Tibet comprising Zanskār, Nūbra and Rukchu.

2a. Shakardu of *Bādshah Nāma*, Lahori, II, p. 282.

3a. *A.N.*, III, p. 603.

4. *A.N.*, III, pp. 823-4, *Iqbāl Nāma, II, pp. 497-8*
5. *Ibid. According to Akbarnama* and *Iqbal Nama*, Ali Rai was frightened on hearing the news of the arrival of Mughal contingents under Saifullah but according to *Buhāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 206, he was disgusted when he came to know about the mutual hatred of Kashmiri nobles.
6. *A.N.*, III, pp. 823-24.
   Majālisul-Mominin, p. 49. *Iqbāl Nāma, II, p. 454.*

7. *Franke History of Western Tibet*, p. 106.
Fillippo-De-Fillipi, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, etc. pp. 44-6, 217. See also the new edition of the same by S.S. Girgan and F.M. Husnain, P. 110.
A.N. III, p. 731, mentions that it was Ali Zād who attacked Leh. It appears to be a mistake for Ali Rai.

8. According to *A.N.*, III; p. 731, and *Iqbāl Nama*, II, p. 454, Kaliyūm Kokaltāsh was the ruler of Ladakh who was defeated by Alizād and a relative of the deposed ruler was given the territory which is not supported by the Tibetan sources. (i) Franck, *History of Western Tibet*, p. 106. On the other hand Hashmatullah Khān, in his book, *Tarikh Jamu wa Kashmir wa Riyāsathi Maftūhā*, pp. 503-4, mentions on the basis of *Shigar Nāmā*, a contemporary history of Shigar that it was Gāzi Mīr who was ruling Askardu and Ali Sher Khan Inchan (Ali Rai) was only heir apparent, but Cunningham, in *Ladakh*, etc. p. 30, states that Ali Sher Khān succeeded Gāzi Mir in 1590, IV Vigne, *Travels* etc. p. 252.

9. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 507-8.

10. Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political*, etc., pp. 19-20.

11. Ibid. p. 34.

12. Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 98
Hashmatullah Khān, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 507-8.

13. Ibid. p. 505.

14. *Badshah Nama*, Lahori, I, pp. 281-2.
Kumbu, *Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 253.
Qqzvini, *Shahjahan Nāma*

15. Since the fall of Qandahār, ralations between Persia and India were strained. The Transoxiana developments were also alarming and as such, any further delay on the part of Shahjahan would have gone against the interests of the Mughals. For the details, see Athar Ali, "Objectives Behind the Blakh and Badakhshan Expedition in 1643-4," *Medieval India A Miscellany*, Vol II, and B.P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi, pp. 182-209, 210-236, 315.*

116. Badshah Nama, II, p. 98

17. *IHQ, Vol. 8, pp. 171-95. Badshah Nama*, I, pp. 281-5.
Ẓafar Khan did not subdue Greater Tibet as put by *Waqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 138
Franck, *Antiquities of Western Tibet, pp. 109-10.*
Bādshah Nama, I, pp. 281-5. In *Amal-i-Ṣālih, I, p. 255.*

18. Kechna has been wrongly mentioned as Gajnāk.
Vigne, Travels, etc. Vol II, p. 252.

19. Muhammad Murad was *Vakil* of Abdāl Khān *Bādshah Nama*, I, p. 282. *Qazvini*, III, f. 414.

20. The ruler of Shigar was Hasan Khān, son of Mohammad Khān. Mohammad Khān had twelve sons and Hasan Khān was the eldest son. He was defeated by Abdāl during an encounter and his younger brothers were killed.
Hasan Khān sought shelter in Kashmir.
Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc pp. 507-8.
Cunningham is silent about this incident. According to his chronology, it was Ama Chand De, who ruled Shigar from 1605 to 1680, *Ladakh-Political Physical etc.*
Bādshah Nama, Lahori, I[1], pp. 282-3. *Qazvini*, III, f. 416.

21. *Bādshah Nama*, Lahori, II, pp. 283.

22. Ibid., (ii) Qazvini *Shahjahan Nāma*, III, f. 415.

23. Ibid.

24. *Bādshah Nama*, Lahori, II, p. 283.
'Amal-i-Ṣālih, II, p. 359.
Qazvini, III, f. 414.
All the three sources have not mentioned the name of his minor son.

25. *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 284, Shādmān Pakhliwal was son of Sultan Husain Pakhliwāl. After his death Pakhli was assigned to Shādmān Pakhliwāl in 1624, *Tuzuk*, p. 367.

26. *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 285. Qazvini, III, f. 415
The keys of the fort were handed over on 7th Rabi II,
1047, corresponding to September, 1637, and not 1634 as put by Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir, etc. p. 508.

27. Saksena, B.P. *History of Shahjahān* etc. pp. 113-4.

28. *Bādshah Nama*, II, p. 285.

29. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, etc. p. 613

30. Kambu, *'Amal-i-Ṣālih*, III, p. 262.

31. Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 286, While Ẓafar Khān was coming back, he arrested all of them and brought them to Kashmir *Qazvini*, III, p. 416.

32. *Badshah Nama*, Lahori, I (II), p. 286. *'Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 262. Since the conclusion of any treaty with a warring chieftain appears to have been the prerogative of the Emperor only, and under these limitations the Subahdar was not entitled to enter into any such agreement. Here we may also refer to the abrogation of the treaty concluded by Bagh Wan Dās and Yousf Shah Chak, by Akbar.
See Chapter I.

33. *Bādshah Nama*, I (II), p. 286.

34. Ibid., II, p. 98.

35. *Bādshah Nama*, II, p. 98.

36. *Bādshah Nama*, Waris, II, f. 359.

37. Mohammad Kāẓim, *'Alamgir Nāma*, II, p. 860

38. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, pp. 514-17.

39. When Ādam Khān regained control over his *waṭan*, a mosque was built in Askardo, and *Khuṭba* was recited in the name of Aurangzeb (i) *Tarikh-i-Shāhi Jahānī-wa-Alamgiri*, f. 133b. (ii) Bernier, *Travels etc. p. 402. (iii)* Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 514-17.

40. Ibid, pp. 532-3.

41. Desideri *Travels*. p. 117

II. Relations with Great Tibet (Ladakh):

Ladakh was not a united territory under one rule right up to 1000 A.D. It was divided among various chieftains and towards the end of 10th Century it was consolidated into a single country.[1] Having a close relationship with Central Tibet, Buddhism made its headway and a number of monasteries sprang up. In the sixteenth century Lāchen dynasty was succeeded by Namgyāl dynasty.[2] Namgyāl reduced to submission a number of principalities and a large area, previously under the control of Central Tibet.[3] He was succeeded by Jamyông—Namgyāl in 1560.[4] During his reign (1560-90) a quarrel took place between Khir Sultan of Dkartse and Purig Sultan of Chiktan.[5] He came to the help of one of the chieftains while the other appealed to ʿAli sher Khān for help which he readily accepted on account of his expansionist policy.[6]

Jamyang Nangyal was defeated and Ladakh was over run by the Balits.[7] In order to control Ladakh, ʿAli Shēr Khān offered his daughter, Tārā, to the son of Jamyang-namgyal.[8] After the death of ʿAli Shēr Khān, again the difference came to surface. Dal-dyn-Namgyāl wanted to avenge the previous defeat by his bid to vanquish the Sultan of Purig.[9] He waged a war against Purīg and other principalities. Sen-ge-Nam-agyāl had a resolute mind to annex these territories.[10] His powerful commander, Shkya-gy-gyo-cho[11] wanted to raise the prestige of Ladakh which was previously, infused by ʿAli Shēr Khān. It appears the Mughal dependency of Little Tibet sought the help of the Mughals and Muhammad Shafi and Maṣhoob Beg led a contingent in 1666-67. Ladakhis were defeated and a treaty was concluded. The ruler promised to construct a mosque for the convenience of the Muslims. But according to the Tibetan Sources the Mughals were repulsed, leaving behind dead bodies and arms.[12] But we cannot brush aside the inscription of "Kācha-Masjid" bearing the year 1077 A.H./1666-7 for its foundation. But Schlagintweels mentions that the mosque was built in water-Tiger-Year (1602+12-1614) and completed in water-Horse-year (1602+52-1654). In support of this assertion he mentions an inscription found by him in Hemis Gompa.[13] The Mughals and Kashmir chronicles do not support his conjecture. The difference in the chronology appears to have been caused by lacunary Buddhist manuscripts.[14] In appears that the Mughal expedition through it was unsuccessful and did not bring any kind of

territorial gain to the Mughals. However, an opportunity was provided to them in 1683-4, which later on paved the way for the Mughal conquest of Ladakh.

Dalai Lama had supremacy over Lamaism since a pretty long time, but this power was religious while political power vested in the hands of the Mongols who had a strong man in Guzrī Khān. The Fifth Dalai Lama, Hag-dhan-bho-bzon, through sheer diplomatic skill and the clever use of his political acumen used Guzrī Khān to raise his prestige.[15] The Namgyal dynasty had accepted the spiritual as well as political hedgemony of the Lhasa Lamasary.[16]

In 17th Century, during the reign of Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal, a Lama of the red-sect called Stag-tsang-raschan (Raspa) came to Ladakh.[17] His presence was resented to by the Dalai Lama and Ḍalās Khān as well.[18] It appears the ruler of Ladakh had also been influenced by his teachings and on the other hand Mughal interference was also increasing in this region. So an army was sent under dGa-lDan-Ts's-DBan-dPal-bznpe.[19] On his way to Ladakh he involved Kheri Singh, the chieftains of Bashāhār territory in this adventure. He was granted uninterrupted carvan facilities in the district of Nāris.[20] On account of the winter season he ramained in the fortress of Bazgo,[21] after defeating Sakya-rgya-rgya-mtso near Tashingong.[22] However the further advance was checked. Ladakhis also took shelter in fortress of Tsaprang.[23] Meanwhile a fresh reinforcement of a contingent arrived from Lhasa to the help of the Tibetans which compelled Nam-rgyal to seek the help of the Mughals. He appealed Ibrāhim Khān, Ṣubehdār of Kashmir, for his help against the Tibetans,[24] who had almost overrun the whole of Ladakh.[25] Although the Mughals had no intentions of expansion in this region but the presence of a powerful enemy was not to be tolerated on the cost of the defeat of Vasal Chieftains. So, an expeditionary force was formed in Kashmir with troops called from Kabul and local forces. The command was given to Fidāī Khān, son of Ibrāḥim Khān in 1682-83.[26] The Mughals were joined by the forces of Sakardo and the Ladakhi forces after crossing Zoji-La. The Tibetan and Qalmāq troops were defeated and chased beyond Pitak and without any rest they left for Tāshigong.[27]

On the culmination of the war a treaty was concluded among Tibetans, Ladakhis and the Mughals.[28]

The war had a great importance in shaping the destiny of western Himalayas. The boarders defined and demarcated by the Ladakhis and the Tibetans on the Northern side still continue to be the boundary of modern Jammu and Kashmir. Before this war the Mongols had supremacy over the Ladakhis but this war once for all decided the future of Ladakh. The ruler accepted Islam under the name of Āqabat Mahmood Khān with a rank of 3000-2000. Ladakh was assigned to him in lieu of his submission.[29]

1. Fillipo-de-Fillipi, *Hamalaya-Karakoram*, etc. pp. 176-7.
2. *Ibid*. Based on the translation of Tibetan Sources by a German Scholar Karl Marx and published and denoted by Fillipo in the above book.
3. Francke-*Antiquities of Tibet*, p. 106, translation of a Tibetan Source *La-Drasgs-Rgyal-RABS*, spelt as *Hjamdbyans-rNam-rgyal*.
4. *Ibid*.
5. *Ibid*., (ii) Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political*, etc. p. 24.
   There is a variation so far as the spellings of various proper nouns are concerned. Cunningham has not followed the same principle of transliteration as has been adopted by Franck, Fillipo and Petech.
6. Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political*, etc. pp. 324-26.
   Hashmatullah Khān *Tārikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, etc. p. 697.
7. Ibid.
   According to Cunningham, on the basis of Tibetan chronicles the incident occurred on account of the appointment of Slkya-gyo-cho as commander. His appointment was resented by Raspa or Raschan a Lama of Ladakh who had come to Ladakh to propagate the Red Sect.
   Ladakh-etc., p. 177.
8. Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political*, etc. pp. 77 251.
   Tara in Budhist tradition is considered to be incarnation of the wives of the Tibetan King who introduced Buddhism in Tibet, *Fillipi-de-Filipi*, p. 177.
   Iqbal Nama, II, p. 454. She was known as *Thi La Khatun* or Ziri in Tibetan Sources. Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, etc. p. 697. She was accompanied by Akhun Muhammad Sharif, who started the propagation of Islam in Sūrū and Kar'tsē. But Tibetan sources are silent about this.
9. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 697. During this period the said principalities were ruled by Hatim Khan, Babar and Yaqūb who were the sons of the daughter of Shah Murād of Askardu.
10. *Bādshah Nama*, II (I), pp. 159-60.
    Petech, *China & Tibet in early 18th Century*, p. 176

11. Mohammad Kāẓim, *Alamgir Nama*, II, pp. 920-3:
Mohammad Ṣādiq Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Shahjahāni-wa-Ālamgīri*, *f. 133b.*

M.U., II, pp. 432-3.
Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 312.

12. Petech, *China and Tibet in 18th Century*, p. 182.
Franck, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, II, pp. 146-7.
The Chronicles of Ladakh, p. 108. (These sources are translated by Schlag in tweels).

13. Franck, *The Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 108

14. In spite of the construction of the mosque, Islam does not seem to have made any headway in Ladakh. Secondly, the Mughals were not able to control Ladakh even temporarily.

15. Petech, "IHQ, Vol. 8," pp. 8-9.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Fillipa-de-Fillipi, *Himalaya-Karakoram*, etc, p. 177.

18. Dalas Khan was son and successor of Guzri Khan the Temporal chief of Ladakh.
Petech, "IHQ. V. 23," 1947,
III, p. 175.

19. dGa-Ldan-Tse-Dban was the Lama of Tashilunpo Lamasary and first cousin of Guzri Khan. He was an able general and an administrator. After the death of Tashi Lama in 1662, he was able to maintain law and order in the market of Tashi Lungo.
Petech, "IHQ, Vol 23, III," p. 182.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

21. Petech, "IHQ, Vol 23, III," p. 182-3.
Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 130.

22. Petech, "IHQ, 23, III," p. 178

23. Tsaprang 79°-28', longitude and 31°-14' latitude was the capital of district Gugua. According to Fillipo, the Ladakhis took shelter in the fortress of Temesgam.
Himalaya-Karakoram, etc. p. 177.

24. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 175.
Manucci, II, p. 220.
Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, p. 21.

25. Petech, "IHQ, 23, III," p. 181-2.

26. *Ma'asir-i-Ālamgīri*, (Sarkar), p. 144.
Fillipo-de-Fillipi, *Himalaya-Karakoram*, etc. p. 176-7.
Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb, III*, p. 21.

27. Petech, "IHQ, 23, III," p. 184.

28. It has not been mentioned in the Tibetan Sources.

29. "Akhbārāt, 43rd R.Y."
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.
Ma'asir-i-Ālamgiri (Sarkar), p. 144.
Hashmatullah Khān, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 311-12.
Tibetan Sources translated by Petech, Francks,
Fillipo-de-Filipi and Karl Marx don't agree with the Mughal sources, so far as the conversion of the ruler is concerned. After this incident Āqabat Mahmood Khān continued construction of Mani walls and Lama—Saries. It appears the Tibetan sources have deliberately committed this mistake. See "Akhbarat 43rd year." The Mughal Governors did not allow the ruler of Ladakh, to revert to Buddhism which is the conjecture of L. Petech, "IHQ, Vol 23, III," p. 193. In 43rd R.Y. of Aurangzeb Nalba-Namgyal who succeeded his father requested Aurangzeb to confer on him the title of Masood Khān with the same *Manṣab* of his father 3000/2000. "Akhbārāt Rabi, I, 43rd R.Y." His brother was given the *mansab* of 500/500. *Ibid*. It is also not born out by facts that the Mughals had not any territorial claim on Ladakh. *A.N. III, p. 731. The revenue records of subsequent period include Greater Tibet as a Sarkar of Suba Kashmir, Desideri also supports our inference. Desideri, Travels*, p. 72. See also *Critical introduction and annotations to A History of Ladakh* by A.H. Francke, New Delhi, 1977.

III. RELATION WITH KASHTAWĀR:

Kashtawār state situated in the interior of the Himalayas bounded by Ladakh in the North, Pāḍar and Chamb in the east, Bhadrawah on the south and Kashmir on the west, extending from Nagāun to Rāmban. It consisted of Kashtawār, Nagāun, Sartāli, Sūrūr, Bhoujwah, Dachin and Murū-wardwan, Udil, Kontawārā, and Dodasaraj.[1] Since early times Kashtawār was a tributory of Kashmir and allied with the Kashmiri Sultans by matrimonial alliances.[2]

During 1584-1622, the rulers of Kashtawār sheltered the defeated Chak nobles. Support and active help of Kashtawāris encouraged them to create trouble in Kashmir. During the first Mughal expedition in 1586. Yáqūb Chak played havoc in the lines of Mughal force with the help of Kashtawār.[3] Raja Gunwar Sēn extended his full assistance to Loḥar Chak and Iba Chak subsequently.

On account of internal disorders and chaotic condition in the Ṣubah, Akbar could not divert his attention towards this territory, besides his hands were also full elsewhere.[4] But the continuous interference on the part of the Chaks, compelled the Mughals to adopt an expansionist policy in this direction.

In 1617-18 Ahmad Beg Khān was appointed Ṣubehdār of Kashmir on the condition that he would carry on the Kashtawār expedition, but on account of his failure he was transferred in 1619.[5] He was succeeded by Dilāwar Khān, who promised to annex Kashtawār within two years.[6] In order to carry on his adventure he sought the help of Malik Haidar and Malik ʿAli.[7] Malik ʿAli was fully acquainted with the routes leading to Kashtawār. Dilāwar Khān led the expedition personally. The attack was launched via Sanginpura and after a tough fighting the Raja was defeated and captured by the men of Dilawar Khān in 1622.[8] Dilāwar Khān left for Kashmir leaving behind Nasrullah ʿArab incharge of the newly acquired territory.[9] Raja Gunwar Sēn was brought to the presence of Jahāngir at Baramulla.[10] In reward of his services Dilāwar Khān was given the revene of Kashtawār in *Ina'm*.[11] Since Gunwar Sēn declined to surrender his sons as hostage, he was deported to Gwalior prison where he remained for two years.[12]

Consequent upon the departure of the Mughal forces the Kashtawāris revolted in 1623 on account of the harsh and oppressive attitude of Naṣrullah ʿArab and his men.[13] Jahāngīr appointed Jallal to

put down the insurrection,[14] but he did not succeed in his attempt and Iradat Khan was directed to subdue the uprising.[15] Raja Sangrām Singh was also directed to help Irādat Khān in this expedition.[16]

The revolt was put down and *Thānās* were established with large garrisons adequately provisioned. Meanwhile Gunwar Sēn was released from the Gawalior fort in 1624 and Kashtawār was assigned to him as *Waṭan Jāgīr*.[17] After this arrangement Kashtawār remained peaceful, but in 1662-63, Saif Khān, the Ṣubehdār of Kashmir, sent a revenue official to collect the annual *peshkash* from Rajā Mahā Singh, as he was reluctant to pay the tribute.[18] When Aurangzeb came to know the intention of the Raja, he directed Mohammad Amin Khān, Ṣubehdār of Lahor, to caution the Raja of the dire consequences of his rebellious attitude.[19] It appears that the Raja had submitted to the imperial behest and his son had joined the imperial service and later served in the Deccan in 1682-83.[20]

Mahā Singh was succeeded by Jayā Singh. He bore a hostile attitude towards the Muslims.[21] During his regime a Muslim saint Shah Faridudīn Qādiri came to Kashtawār, where he influenced a large number of people by his piety.[22] One day Raja Jayā Singh also attended his meeting and he too could not resist the temptation to join his faith and his enemosity towards Muslims turned into love and respect. Raja Jayā Singh after conversion was given the name of Bakhtiyār Khān.[23] On account of his earlier attitude towards Muslims and his enemosity with his brother Sardār Singh, the Emperor Aurangzeb was not happy with him. In order to neutralise the efforts of Sardār Singh, he sent his son, Kirat Singh as his *Vakīl* to the Court.[24] He succeeded Bakhtiyār Khān in 1681.[25] Ram Singh, uncle of Kirat Singh, had no cordial relations with him. He complained to Aurangzeb about the atrocities done to the Muslims by Kirat Singh.[26] On this complaint. Qāẓi Abul Qasim was appointed as *Qāẓi* of Kashtawār by Aurangzeb. He was directed to pursue Raja Kirat Singh to attend the Court or face the imperial wrath.[27] Kirat Singh bowed before the imperial will and entered into an agreement promising the safety of Muslims and help to develop a congenial atmosphere for the propagation of Islam.[28] But soon after the departure of *Qazi*, there was a revolt against the imperial rule, a large number of Muslims were killed and many more expelled from Kashtawār. Innayi-tullah Khan took shelter in the *Khanqah* of Shah Farid. When these reports reached Kashmir, an army was despatched to put down the rebellion.

Raja Kirat Singh promised to concede the Mughal demands. Subsequently embraced Islam under the influence of Shah Farid, and assumed the name of Sa'ādat Yār Khān.[29]

Henceforth, Kashtawār remained under the Mughal control as part of the Ṣubah of Kashmir.[30]

IV: RAJOURI

Rajouri comprised valley Munāwwar Tawi and its tributaries. It is situated to the south of Pir Panjal range dividing it from the valley of Kashmir. On the west, it is bounded by Punch and Kotli, on the south by Bhimber and in the east by the river of Chināb. It remained throughout our period a subsidary of the Ṣubah of Kashmir.[31]

A fort was built by Akbar during his first visit at Noushahra, a principality of Parganah Rajouri.[32]

The principality was assigned to Raja Hayāt Khān in *waṭan Jāgīr*, and under Shahjahān and family entered into matrimonial relations[33] with the Mughals.

V: PAKHLI

Pakhli was spread over whole territory lying between Kashmir in the east and the Indus in the West, including the lower valley of Kishanganga and those of its tributaries.[34] On the south it was surrounded by the Gakhar territory.[35]

During the Sultanate period, it was a tributory of Kashmir but after the fall of Kashmir in 1586, it constituted a separate *Sarkar* of Ṣubah of Kabul.[36] Later on it was included in the Ṣubah of Kashmir.[37] In 1589, Akbar assigned Pakhli as *Watan Jāgīr* to Sultan Husain. He promised to pay a regular *peshkash* but on account of the representation of some officers to enhance the revenue, he rebelled,[38] and Akbar assigned Pakhli to Husain Beg Sheikh ʿUmari in *jāgīr*.[39] While taking over the charge of the new *jāgīr*, Hindal, son of Sultan Husain, proclaimed himself the Sultan under the title of Sultan Naṣeer.[40] Due to meagre resources he could not resist the imperial pressure.[41] But the following year Pakhli was resorted to Sultan Husain.[42] Jahāngīr increased his manṣab to 600/300 in 1620.[43] He died in 1624 and the *zamindāri* of Pakhli was given to Shādmān Pakhliwāl.[44]

VI : PUNCH :

The territory comprised the valleys of river Tohi and its tributaries. It was known as Lohra also.[45] It had always been a dependency of Kashmir.[46] During the Chak rule Lohra, became independent.[47]

It appears that during the first Mughal expedition in 1584, Punch accepted the overlordship of the Mughals. In 1618-19, there was a revolt in Punch which was suppressed by the Subehdar of Kashmir in 1620 with the assistance of Malik ʿAli and Malik Haidar.[48]

There were some other minor principalities near the mountainous regions which were reduced to submission and annexed to the Ṣubah of Kashmir. During the Mughal rule the boundaries of the Ṣubah of Kashmir extended to all directions. (During this period the borders with Central Tibet were also demarcated) and the following principalities were added to Subah of Kashmir : Ladakh, Baltistān, Gilgit, Sarshāl, Damyāl, Damtūr, Pakhli, Noushahra, Rajouri and Punch.[49]

1. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States, II*, p. 638, has included Banihal parganah with Kashtawār, which is not correct. Banihāl was always ruled from Kashmir even before the Mughal annexation, (ii) Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 18, 209, and continued to be a parganah of the Mughal Subah of Kashmir, *A.N. (Bloch)*, p. 835, (iii) Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I. p. 204. (iv) Forster, *Travels, I*, p. 349. (v) Vigne, *Travels*, I, p. 204.
2. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 208-9.
3. Tuzuk, p. 294.
4. In order to destroy the hiding place of Chaks Mohammad Quli Khān launched an attack in 1604 via Maru-wardwn valley. But could not succeed in his attempt, however, the Raja assured a regular tribute, but this was never carried on till his defeat in 1622. *A.N.*, III, p. 523. (ii) *Iqbal Nama*, II, pp. 506-7. (iii) Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States, p. 649. According to him this was launched in 1606 which is not correct, because Mohammad Quli Khān was transferred and Mirza ʿAli Akbar Shāhi was appointed Subehdar of Kashmir in 1605 A.D.. Tuzuk*, pp. 11.
5. *Tuzuk*, p. 294.
   Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 214a.*
   Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 282.
6. *Tuzuk*, pp. 225, 294. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 214a, 216a-b.

7. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 561.
Kāmgār Husain, *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 127-8.
Malik Haidar the author of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, was a noble of Yousf Shah Chak. He was given the *Zamindāri* of his residential pargana Chadoora by Jahangir and the title of *Raisul Mulk* and *Chugtai'* was also conferred on him. Malik 'Ali was his brother an architect engineer. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 214-15.

8. *Tuzuk*, p. 296.
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 220a.
For the details, see Beni Parsad, *History of Jahāngir*, pp. 282-84, and Parmu, R.K., *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, pp. 303.*

9. *Tuzuk*, p. 296.
According to *Raja Darshani* f. 185, Kashtawār was assigned to Raja Sangrām of Jammu, is not supported by any other source. R.K. Parmu, in *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 308, gives his name as Nasrullah 'Arab, is not correct. See Tuzuk, p. 303.

10. *Ibid*, p. 303.
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 230a.
The name of Raja was Gunwar Sēn and not Gore Sēn or Gosir Singh. Hutichson, History of Punjab Hill states, p. 650. Beni Prasad and R.K. Parmu have not mentioned his name at all. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 156-7.

11. *Tuzuk*, p. 303.

12. *Iqbal Nama III*, p. 580.
Tuzuk, p. 347.
Kewal Ram, *Tazkiratul-'Umarā*, f. 228.

13. *Tuzuk*, p. 312.

14. Jallal was elder son of Dilawār Khān. He led a contingent along with his father in 1621 to Kashtawār. He was granted a mansab of 1000/600. He was never appointed as Ṣubehdar of Kashmir as put by Abdul Rahim, "JPHS, Vol 7," 1959, *Tuzuk*, p. 312, Kāmgār Hussain, *Ma'asir-i-Jahāngiri*, ff. 140-8.

15. *Tuzuk*, pp. 312-13, on the death of Dilāwar Khān, Iradat Khan was appointed as Ṣubehdār in 1622.

16. *Tuzuk*, p. 313,

17. *Tuzuk*, p. 349, *Iqbal Nāmā, III*, p. 580.
Gunwar Sēn was son of Partap Sen. He succeeded his father in 1618-19. (*Hashmatullah Khan*. p. 156). He was granted a manṣab of 1000/400 Bādshah Nama, Lahori, II, p. 311. His daughter was married to Prince Shuja, *Badshah Nama, II*, p. 434-5, Kewal Ram, *Tazkiratul-'Umarā*, f. 228. AFter his death in 1649, he was succeeded by his son Maha Singh and *tika* was conferred by Shahjahan. A rank of 800/400 was also granted to him Waris, *Bādshah Nāma, I*, f. 67. (ii) Kewal Ram, *Tazkirat-al-'umarā*, f. 128.
According to Hutichson, *History of Punjab Hill States, II*, p. 651, Gunwar Sēn was succeeded by Jagat Singh which is not correct. See Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 161-62, also. *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, p. 173.

18. "Akhbārāt, 13th R.Y."

19. *Ibid*.

20. *Ibid.* 24th R.Y.

21. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States, II*, p. 654.
Hashmatullah Khān, p. 166.

22. *Rouzatul ʿĀrifīn*, f. 10b, See chapter VII, for the life of the Saint and his activities in Kashtawar.
Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States, II*, p. 654.

23. Rouzatul-ʿĀrifin, f. 10b,
Hashmatullah Khān, p. 167.

24. *Hashmatullah Khān*, p. 167

25. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, pp. 654-5.

26. The conversion of Jaya Singh was staunchly opposed by the high cost Brahmans. Later on he was killed by Krishin Padyār a high cost Hindu, *Hutichson*, p. 654. Raja Kirat Singh on account of this situation banned Muslims in Kashtawar.

27. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Jammu* etc. pp. 170-71

28. The copy of the agreement has been preserved by Hashmatullah Khān in his book, *Tārīkh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, etc. pp. 170-71.

29. *Rouzatul-ʿĀrifin*, f. 15a. According to Hashmatullah Khān *Tārīkhi-Jammu etc.* p. 164, Kirat Singh accepted Islam in 1662, during Aurangzeb's visit to Kashmir, which is not correct. He succeeded his father in 1681.

30. *Akhbārāt, 43rd* R.Y.

31. *A.N. III*, pp. 539-40. *Bādshah Nama*, Lahori, II, p. 17. *ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 16. *Bādshah Nāma*, Qazvini, III, ff. 310a-b. The border of Kashmir and the Punjab was in between Rajouri and Noushahra, see *A.N., III*, 539-40, and above sources. *Dasturul-Amal-i-Shahjahani*, 675/73 A.S. Collection, f. 7, Hitichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, p. 688.
Rajouri in ancient periods formed a part of Kamboja confedracy. After its fall it was included in Bactrian Empire. Uri Gankofasky, *Pakistan Kī Qoumiyatain*, pp 72, 79. Peoples Publishing House, Moscow.

32. *Tuzuk*, p. 317
Bādshah Nāmā, Lahori, II, p. 17.
See *Ādāb-i-ʿĀlamgiri*, ff. 142-149, also

33. ʿAmal-i-Ṣāleh, II, p. 391.

34. *A'in, II*, p. 186 (N.K.) See Jarrets translation also, pp. 347, 390.
Kāmgār Husain, *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngīrī*, ff. 125-26.
A.N., III, p. 577.

35. *A'in, II*, p. 186 (N.K.) *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngīrī*, II, p. 559.

36. *A'in*, II, p. 186. *Khawariqus-Sālikīn* f 66a.

37. *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shāhjahānī*, 675/73, f. 7.
Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 273.

38. *A.N. III*, pp. 565, 577.

39. *A.N., III*, p. 577.

40. *A.N., III*, p. 577
Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngīrī, II, p. 412.

41. *A.N., III*, p. 577.
Iqbāl Nāma, II, p. 412.

42. *A.N., III, p. 578*

43. *Tuzuk*, p. 291.

44. *Tuzuk*, p. 367

45. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 19.

46. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*, ff. 50-51.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, III, f. 95b.

47. Ibid.

48. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 216a.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 124.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, III, f. 95b.

49. Narain Koul ʿĀjiz, *Mukhtaṣar-Tawārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 192a.*
Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 272-4.
Dastūrul ʿAmal-i-Shāhjahānī, f. 132b.

CHAPTER : II
LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

I EXTENT OF AGRICULTURE :

Land revenue remained almost the only source of income to the State exchequer throughout medieval period, and as such main interest of the rulers revolved round agriculture.

During the Sultanate period Zainul-Ābidīn geared up the administrative machinery to improve the agricultural operations, and to bring more and more land under plough. A number of canals were dug out and the old ones also repaired. But his sons and successors proved incompetent and the war of successions continued among them for decades together. This shattered the administrative machinery and deprived them of their military skills, and the kingdom was exposed to the foreign aggression. In 1533 Mirza Haidar Dughlat swept the kingdom with a nominal contingent of 300 people. In 1540 he again attacked the country and defeated the army. In the subsequent years their was a constant interference in affairs of this country, which ultimately led to its fall and annexation.

The constant warfare turned grain fields into the barren lands. The tenants abandoned their lands. The Mughal annexation in the early years further deteriorated the peasantry. The economic exploitation at the hands of the newly introduced jagirdars and the oppressive attitude of the occupant army almost ruined the peasantry and nullified the achievement of Sultan Zainul-Ābidin.[1]

The collapse of agricultural operations was not conducive to the policies of Akbar, as it had led to a couple of risings. Thus he initiated certain measures to streamline the collapsed system.[2]

These measures though taken in haste, brought forth the desired results. Peace returned to the kingdom (now a *Ṣubah*) of Kashmir.[3] Main focus was on the agriculture and the revenue officials were reprimanded time and again if found negligent while discharging their duties. Once there was safety, the tenants who had abandoned their homes, came out of their mountaneous hideouts to re-settle in their respective villages. The land revenue reforms of Akbar coupled with the policy of pacification of Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb resulted in the constant increase in the population. This subsequently effected the agricultural operations. Pressure on land was felt to the

close of Jehangir's reign, which forced Shah Jehān to amend the policy of madadi m'āash assignments.[4] Half of the grants were now assigned out of barren land with a directive to bring the same under plough.[5]

However, we fail to workout the actual acrage brought under plough in ecludian terms, because of the paucity of statistical information. This difficulty also is felt so far the factual position of population is concerned, which could have helped us in determining the actual agricultural operation. The very concept of census was not even conceived of; secondly whatever information is recorded in the contemporary source is highly exaggerated.

A 19th century chroniclar without quoting the sources states that the population of the Ṣubah during the reign of Jehāngīr was 19,43,033,[6] nevertheless, there is an authentic record about the Villages of the Ṣubah right from the beginning of the Mughal rule down to its disintegration. This factor studied in the light of revenue figures gives an idea about the extent of agriculture.

According to Narāin Koul 'Ājiz, there were 5896 villages in the Ṣubah.[7] Mohammad Aẓam has supported this statement with a slight variation.[8] But according to an accountancy manual of 17th century, there were only 5352 villages all unmeasured,[9] which is in accord with the census figures conducted in 1901.[10] But some earlier sources have recorded highly exaggerated number of villages, existing in early medieval period.[11] Such an inflated number of villages could not have existed despite the fertility of the land. Abul Faiẓ Faiẓi has mentioned that there was not a single piece of land which was not brought under plough. Three-fourth of the entire land of the Ṣubah was mountainous, and the rest one-fourth was brought under plough and orchards,[12] and as such there was extensive use of culturable land.

On the basis of revenue returns in the *A 'in*, we can safely infer that the area lying in between Gugnagīr to Ferozpūra and Hirapūra to Baramulla was mostly brought under plough.[13] 'Abdul Hamid Lahori and Waris give us a detailed account of the pastoral areas and health resorts, in the valley. On the basis of this information, we can infer that more than three-fourth of the cultivable land in the Sarkar Kashmir was brought under plough and more and more *uftāda* and *banjar* land appears to have been brought under cultivation of cereals, fruit

and vegetable subsequently. But during the latter Mughal period there was again chaos and confusion. The governors deputed their Nāibs to Kashmir and the *jāgīrdārs* formed out their *jāgīrs* to the highest bidder, who in turn exacted their amount in the shortest possible period. The tenants very often abandoned their ancestral land[14] because of the exploitation of *jāgīrdārs* and the revenue officials,[15] and brought *uftāda* land under cultivation, lying in jurisdiction of other *jāgirdārs*. Therefore, we can accept Faiẓi's statement but with certain reservations.

1. J. Xavier, "Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol 23," (N.S.) pp 115-16.
2. *A.N.,III, p. 626*
3. *Bahāristan-i-Shāhi*, ff. 211a-12b; Malik Haidar Chadura; *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 213a-b.
4. "Revenue documents (No 17)" Research and Publication Department, Srinagar.
5. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 524a, 535b.
   See also, *Bādshahnāmā, II*, pp. 309-10
6. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol I*, f. 107a. Some other sources of early period provide some information about the population of the kingdom. See Mohibul Hasan. *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 251-52.
7. Narain Koul Ājiz, *Mukhtasar Tawārikh-i-Kashmir*, f.107a
8. Mohammed Azam, *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 273.
   There is a variation of various editions of the same manuscript. The total number of villages of Marūwardwan. Banihal, Punch, Rajouri and Noushahra was 3270. The number of villages in 12 mahals of Tibet and 5 mahāls of Kamlāk and Kahāl was not known to the author.
9. "Fraser, 86," f.3.
   (ii) Rai Chatar Mal, *Chahar Gulshan*, translated by J.N. Sarkar in *India of Aurangzeb*, pp. 131-132.
10. Census Report, 1901. (ii) Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p. 18.
11. According to *Zafar Nama*, there were 1,00,000 villages in the kingdom of Kashmir, *(Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 429) puts the number at 70,000.
    Dr Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 251-52, has inferred on the basis of above evidences that there would have been in between 70,000 and 60,000 villages during the Mughal period, which cannot be accepted.
12. Faiẓi, *Akbar, Nāma*, f. 241a.
13. We have parganah-wise statistical information about the land revenue realised in kind at the rate of one half *'A' in, II*, 175-77 (N.K.). These returns support our inference. See *'Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, pp. 18-25 also. See appendex 'A'.
14. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 524, 528-830, and 534.
15. "Akhbārāt 39 R.Y." (ii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 534.

II MEANS OF IRRIGATION :

The means of irrigation varied in different regions of the Ṣubah. Enough hydel resources were available in the valley as at present, but scanty in the arid regions of Rajouri, Kashtawār, Pakhli and Tibet *Khurd* wa Kalān. On account of varried topography and geophysical situation various methods of irrigation were adopted in different parts of the Ṣubah. Nevertheless the canal irrigation was almost common throughout the province.

Inspite of natural barriers hampering the expansion of trade and commerce, the mountains were store houses of water. As a matter of fact the valley of Kashmir is a gift of the Himalayas. The Jehlum, and its tributories in the valley, Kishna ganga in Pakhli, the Shayok and the Indus and their tributories in Ladakh and Baltistan, Chināb, Tohi, Chandarbāgh and a network of streams and rivulets provided water to the fields of the Subah. But the table lands or *Karēwās* were mainly dependent on rains.[1] The construction of canals had received a great impetus during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidin[2] but the Mughals did not pay much attention towards the canal-building. However, some old canals were repaired and only a few new canals were built to irrigate the pleasure gardens rather than agricultural land. But care was taken not to spare the surrounding lands from the benefit of such irrigation works.

During the reign of Akbar, Yousf Khān Riẓvi built a canal connecting a stream known as Nullah Sindh with Baghi-Ilāhi.[3] Under Jehangir, some old canals like Lachama Kūl, were repaired under the supervision of Malik Haidar, and Harvan canal was laid out for watering Nūr Afza Bagh at the cost of 30,000 rupees.[4] Under Shahjehan, a branch of the Shah Nahar was taken to Nishāt Bagh by Āsaf Khān. The *Altamgā* grant *firmān* to Āsaf Khān laid down the condition that watering to the garden should not cause hardship to the tenants by reducing their irrigation facilities.[5]

Another source of irrigation in the valley consisted of the springs. Most of the interior land beneath the *Karēwās* or in the foothills was irrigated by the spring water.[6] Great distress was caused in cases of scarcity and low supply of water in the springs.[7] But the spring water was not considered suitable for irrigation on account of its properties.[8] Vegetable gardens were watered from deep wells, dug out in the

vicinities of these orchards.[9] Tanks were probably not built for the purpose of irrigation. The use of Persian wheel was not in vogue.[10]

The table lands depended mainly on rains,[11] and in due course of time these *Karēwās* were brought under fruit cultivation.[12]

1. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 37-40, and 41a
2. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p.86.
3. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, *II* p. 28.
4. *Tuzuk*, p. 347, (ii) Malik Haider, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 230b.
5. Copy of firman has been preserved by Hasan, in his *tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 115.
6. *A'in*, *II*, pp. 172-73 (N.K.), (ii) Malik Haider, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 232-34b.
7. *A'in*, *II*, pp. 172-3 (N.K.), (ii) Malik Haider, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 232-34.
8. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 324.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *ibid.*
11. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f.40
12. *Ibid.*

III CROPS AND METHODS OF PRODUCTION :

Hardly any substantial change has taken place in the cultivation since the Mughal rule. The peasants' implements were the plough, with an iron plough share,[1] a wooden mallet for clod breaking, wooden spade with an iron tip, kreel for carrying manure[2] and a hoe.[3]

The crops were divided into two broad groups, the *rabi* and *kharif.*

Barley, wheat, rape, mustard, cotton, grams, beans, linseed, lentils were *rabi* crops; rice, pulses, waterchestnuts, maize and saffron were *kharif* crops.[4]

Rice was the principal crop cultivated extensively throughout the valley,[5] and its production was carried in Kashtawār, Rajouri, Pakhli and some areas of Punch.[6] There were so many varieties of rice existing during our period.[7] more than sixty lakh *Kharwārs* of rice were produced approximately.[8]

Rice of Rajouri was superior to that of Kashmir.[9] Wheat production was extensive in Kashtawār, Punch and other hilly regions.[10] Shahābād pargana of Kashmir Sarkār was famous for its superior quality of wheat.[11] But the grain of the wheat in the valley was smaller and inferior to the wheat cultivated in the plains.[12] A little production of wheat was carried in Little Tibet but barley and gram were the main agricultural products.[13] Barley was produced in Kashtawār and Pakhli[14] and introduced into the valley perhaps during our period.[15] Grams were not produced in the valley because of unfavourable soil and climate.[16]

Millets, buckwheat, and various kinds of pulses were produced in Littleand Greater Tibet.[17]

Pulses of various varieties, amaranth, sesame, rape, linseed and flax were also cultivated in the Karēwās of Kashmir.[18] Tobacco cultivation appears to have been introduced in the 18th century.[19] Wild hemp grew on the river banks and ravines.[20] Cotton cultivation was not so extensive.[21] Motah, and beans,[22] maize[23] and kangni or shole (solaria italica) were mainly cultivated around the banks of the rivers. China (panicum miliaccum) was raised in the Lar defile and around the wular lake.[24] Water Chestnut was extensively found in the lakes. It constituted the main food of thousands of people living

around the lakes.[25] The *ḥānjis* collected *singhārā* in specially designed boats and the contractors purchased the nuts and transported them to Srinagar for disposal.[26]

Of all the important cash crops, saffron, famous for its bouquet and medicenal properties, was extensively cultivated in Pāmpūr[27] and Indarkot.[28] Its cultivation extended for about 12000 bighas in Pāmpūr and over a tract of land approximately spread over one Cos in Indarkôt.[29]

Outside the valley of Kashmir, it was cultivated in Kashtawār also.[30] The saffron of Kashtwār was considered superior to that of Pāmpūr.[31] Under favourable climatic conditions the production exceeded 500 maunds.[32]

Under the Mughals a large area was brought under the cultivation of saffron.[33]

The method of saffron cultivation was more complicated and quite different from that of crops dependent on rains. The bulbs were protected from the constant rains during winter and slopy ground was selected for such purpose.[34] The bulbs (seeds) were planted in the pulverised soil.[35] But the use of any kind of manure was strictly avoided.[36] The land was left uncultivated for a period of five to six years to regain the fertility. The fields were divided into beds and the seeds were sown in the month of July and August. Within a month the seeds germinated and in the month of October and November bringforth flowers. Each bulb flowered for a period of six years continuously.[37] The flowers were collected by the tenants and latter the petals were separated from the stigmata.[38] The orange red tip of the stigmata was called *Shāhi Za'frān*.[39] Two Seers of pure dried saffron was obtained out of eleven traks of mixed flowers.

Sugar cane cultivation though introduced by Sultan Zain-ul-ʿĀbidin probably vanquished in the Mughal period.[41]

VEGETABLES :

Vegetable cultivation was extensive and varied all over the Ṣubah but it was more profuse in the valley. The famous vegetable gardens were located around the city of Srinagar on the banks of Dal lake.[42] The

famous floating gardens of the Dal were always full of various kinds of vegetables.[43] Almost every tenant had a plot reserved for vegetable cultivation.[45]

Qualitatively and quantitatively rich vegetables like beans, knol khol, turnips, radish, spinach, carrots, pumpkins, white beans, cucumbers and onions were mainly produced.[46] Sāg and boiled rice was the staple food of the Kashmiris. Potatoes were introduced in the 19th century.[47] Chillies were introduced in 18th century[48] and large quantities were raised around Srinagar.[49] Large quantities of vegetables were exported for the Imperial kitchen from Kashmir.[50]

1. Irfan, Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 24-25. (ii) Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 324.
2. Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 324-25.
3. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.l.
4. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345a.
5. *A' in, II*, (N.K.) p. 172, (ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 295.
6. *Ibid.*
7. RPO No 33, a revenue document Srinagar Research and Publication Centre date 1190.
8. *A'in, II*, 175-76. State Share appropriated at the rate of one half was about 30 lakh *Kharwars*.
9. *A'in, I*, (N.K.) p. 34.
10. *Tuzuk*, pp. 294, 296.
11. Vigne, G.T., *Travels etc.,I*, p. 324.
12. *A' in, II*, (N.K.), p. 170, (ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 300.
(III) Irfan Habib, *Agrarian, System of Mughal India*, pp. 36-37, says wheat was not raised altogether in the Ṣubah of Kashmir is not born out by facts. See *A.N. III*, P. 526-27.
13. *Badshāh Nāmā, II*, p. 287 (ii) Desideri, *Travels etc.*, pp. 78, 325.
14. *Tuzuk*, p. 296.
15. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345-a. There is a contradiction in *A'in, II*, p. 170, and *A.N. III*, pp. 548-49, about the barley cultivation, It appears that a little barley was raised in the valley. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian Systems of Mughal India*, p. 78, also *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 341, holds a contrary view point. According to him, it was extensively cultivated in the valley during 19th century, but not as an important crop.
16. *A'in, II*, (N.K.), p, 170, (ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 300, (iii) *Gulshan -i-Dastūr*, ff. 343a-345b.

17. Lahori, *Bādashah Nāma, II*, p. 287, (ii) Desideri *Travels etc.*, pp. 78, 325, (iii) Moorcraft, *Travels in Ladakh etc.*, I, pp. 275-77.

18. A.N., *III*, pp. 528-9, (ii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345, (iii) Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 330.

19. Forster, *From Bengal to England, II*, p. 7, (ii) Vigne *Travels, I*, p. 324, (iii) Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 330.

20. *Tuzuk*, p. 312.

21. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 185.

22. A.N., *III*, pp. 548-49.

23. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345a, (ii) Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 330.

24. A.N. III, pp. 548-49

25. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345a, (ii) Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 63.

26. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 307b.

27. *A' in, II*, (N.K.), p. 172, (ii) *A.N., III*, pp. 648, 727. In Various manuscripts the name of the village Pampur has been written as Patanpur, Panure, etc. It is modern Pāmpūr and ancient Padampūr, *A' in, II* (Jarret), p. 390.

28. Inder Kot a village in Parganga Paraspore, *A'in, II (N.K.)*, p. 172; *Jarret, II*, p. 395, has spelt it as Indarkot. The ancient name of the village was Indarkit, which remained capital of Kashmir also. *A' in II*, Jarret, p. 395.

29. *A.N., III*, pp. 648, 727. (ii) *A' in, II* (N.K.); p. 172 on page 63 of the same edition, it is 12 Kros only. In another manuscript it is stated that cultivation spread over an area of 12000 kos, which appears to be a clerical mistake. Shiefta-Collection, I, ff. 36-37. A latter source of 18th century, *Khulāṣatu-Tawārikh*, Sajan, Rai Bhandari, pp. 80-81, also has comitted the same mistake. See lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 343.

30. *Tuzuk*, pp. 45, 296.

31. Tuzuk, p. 296.

32. *A.N., III*, p. 648.

    (ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 315

    (iii) *Iqbal Name-Jahāngīri, III*, p. 571.

33. *A.N., III*, p. 648. The production in the year A.H. 1002/A.D. 1593 increased to 90,000 *traks* which appears to be a highly exaggerated quantity. According to *Tuzuk*, p. 315, and *Iqbal Nama Jahangiri*, p. 567, the production was about 500 maunds. During the Dogra period about 132 acres of saffron land was brought under cultivation, Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 342.

34. *A' in, I*, pp. 62-63 (N.K.)

35. *Ibid.*

36. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 342.

37. *A' in I*, p. 64 (N.K.)

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 344
    (ii) Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 342.

40. *A' in, I,* (N.K.), pp. 62-63.
(ii) *Iqbal Name Jahangiri, III,* p. 571.

41 Shrivara, *Raja Tarangini* (Tr. by R.C. Dutt), *Kings of Kashmir, Vol. 3, p. 335.*

42. *Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* f. 233.
(ii) Qazvini, *Badshah Nāma, III,* p. 315a.
(iii) Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I,* f. 64.

43. Lahori *Badshah, Nāma,* II, p. 29., *Kings of Kashmir* R.C. Dutt; p. 97.

44. *A in, II, (N.K.),* p. 173.

45. Quzvini, *Bādshah Nāma, III,* f. 315a.
(ii) Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir,* p. 330.

46. *A' in, II,* (N.K.), p. 173.
(ii) *Hadiqatul-Aqālim,* f. 415.
(iii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr,* ff. 343a, 345b.
(iv) Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir,*.p. 330.

47. Vigne, *Travels etc., I,* p. 173

48. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* pp. 46-47

49. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir,* p. 330

50. *A' in, I,* p. 34, *II,* p. 170 (N.K. ed).

HORTICULTURE :

Even before annexation, kashmir was famous for her delicious fruits of various kinds, but during the Mughal rule large tracts of land were brought under orchards. New varieties were introduced besides the improvement of the existing fruits through grafting.[1] Mohammad Quli Afshār, an expert in horticulture introduced cherry in the Ṣubah.[2] In the initial stage the cultivation was restricted to Imperial gardens only, but later Jehangir directed the *jāgirdārs* and revenue officials to popularise the new varieties.[3] Experiments were carried on in cultivating mangoes and other kinds of Indian fruits, but with little success.[4] *Amrood*,[5] a variety of pear was cultivated in the valley as well as in Pakhli and Kashtawār.[6]

Grapes were cultivated all over Kashmir, and vineyards were found at every nook and corner of the valley.[7] Since the local grapes were not of superior quality,[8] Akbar introduced new varieties like Ṣāhibī, Kishmishī, etc. The quality of indigenous grapes was also improved side by side.[9] the vines were allowed to grow on the poplars and mulberry trees.[10] Baghi Dilāwar Khān was a famous site for vineculture and there were more than 18 varieties raised in this orchard.[11] Superior varieties were cultivated in Lār[12] and Raipur.[13]

Apricots, peaches, quince, almonds, walnuts and various kinds of apple were cultivated all over the Ṣubah.[14] Quince seed was exported to India.[15] Almonds and walnuts were grown in abundance, pistachio were also grown in the valley but not extensively.[16] The walnut of Kashmir was superior to the nuts of Kabul valley.[17]

Apricots of delicious flavour was the cherished fruit of Little and Greater Tibet.[18] On account of extensive cultivation of the apricots, Baltistan was known as *Ts'era Botun*.[19] Apples and strawberries, melons, watermelons and pears were also grown in this region.[20] Pomegranates were grown everywhere in the Ṣubah.[21]

Punch and Kashtawār were famous for extensive cultivation of pomegernate but of inferior quality.[22] The melons, watermelons excelled in flavour and sweetness to those found in Kabul and Samarqand.[23] Mulberry trees were found in abundance, but the fruit was not cherished by the people with delight.[24] Wine was distilled from the mulberries.[25]

1. *Tuzuk*, p.300

2. *Ibid*

3. *Ibid*

4. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhibu-Lubāb, I*, p.203

5. According to Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.500, and N, Guava was not cultivated during the Mughal period in any part of the Empire, but was introduced in 19th century. So far the word amrood is concerned, it was a specie of pear. But in the contemporary chronicles we have both the words *Nāshpāti* and *Amrood : Tuzuk*, pp. 291, 300.

   (ii) *Iqbāl Nāma Jahangiri, III*, p. 565. Since there are various kinds of pears found in Kashmir like *Nakh, Gôsh Bugi* and *Hār Nākh* but the *guava* is not raised even now. See Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 351-52.

6. *Tuzuk*, 291.

7. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri*, III, p. 565

8. *Tuzuk*, p. 300, (ii) *Iqbal Nama Jahāngiri, III*, p. 565

9. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 412, 415, (ii) Moorcraft and Trebeck, *Travels, II*, pp. 151-I.

10. *Tuzuk*, p. 300, *Iqbāl Nama, Jahāngiri, III*, p. 565

11. Moorcraft & Trebeck, *Travels, II*, pp. 151-1

12. *A.N., III*, p. 733

13. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 119a
    (ii) Lawrance, *(The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 351.

14. *A' in, II*, (N.K.), pp. 43-44, 170
    (ii) *A.N., III*, p. 733
    (iii) *Tuzuk*, pp. 296-99, 300-301
    (iv) Lahori, *Bādshah Nama, II*, pp. 30-31
    (v) Desideri, *Travels etc.*, p. 72

15. *Tuzuk*, p. 300
    (ii) *Inshā-i-Har Karan* (Folios not page marked)
    (iii) Lawrance *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 351-52.

16. Lahori, *Badshah Nama, II*, p. 31.
    (ii) Desideri, *Travels etc.* p. 72

17. Moorcraft & Trebeck, *Travels etc., II*, pp. 145-6.

18. Lahori, *Bādshahnama, II*, pp. 13-20

19. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 87.

20. Lahori *Bādshah Nama, II*, p. 288.
    (ii) Desideri, *Travels etc.*, pp. 75-78
    (iii) Waddel, *Lahasa and its Mysteries, p. 478*

21. *Tuzuk*, pp. 296, 300,
    (ii) *Iqbāl Nāma Janāngiri, III*, 567.

22. *Tuzuk*, p. 396.

    (ii) *Iqbal Nāma Jahāngiri*, III, p. 567
    (iii) Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma, II*, pp. 30-31

23. *Ibid.*

24. A' *in II*, (N.K.), p. 170
(ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 300

25. George Forester, *Journey from Bengal to England etc., II*, pp. 21-2.
(ii) Watt, C.W., *Commercial products of India*, p. 785.

IV TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE :

The natural barriers might have presented hurdles and drawbacks to the extension of trade and commerce with the outer world, especially in the mobilization of the grain, but there was no such restraint within the valley. As a matter of fact the river communication was an advantage for such an expansion within. On account of smooth administration, there was a substantial growth of the urban centres,[1] which remained dependent on the rural areas for the raw materials and food grains. As such the possibilities of markets increased, therefore, we should not be surprised to learn that more than 7500 boats were plying between the production centres (the rural areas) and the main consuming centres, (urban centres) loaded with grains and fodder.[2]

Before the Mughal conquest the land revenue was entirely realized in kind but the Mughals reversed the system, but it caused great oppression to the tenants, so in 1597 A.D. *jāgīrdārs* were directed to realize the revenue in kind and a portion of it was realized in cash.[3] The grain which was collected in the villages by the state officials, and the *jāgīrdārs*, was either sent to Srinagar[4] and sold there to the grain merchants or they purchased it from the threshing ground.[5] The *Jāgirdārs* as well as the state, during the reign of Aurangzeb farmed out the land to the contractors, who left the tenants with only a little of their hard-earned produce. This exploitation naturally left the peasants to the mercy of *jāgirdārs*. They were deprived of the bulk of their produce which might have found its way to the markets and some quantity returned to the tenants in shape of *taqāvī* and seeds. In the absence of satistical information, it is difficult to make a correct assessment of the magnitude of grain trade; but we can safely infer that neither the *jāgīrdār*, nor the state was interested in preservation of the foodgrains as there were no reserved stocks of foodgrains as the state preferred to collect revenue in cash. So in times of natural calamity in the Ṣubah, the grain merchants made huge profits and of the inflated prices at which the food-grains were sold from the hoarded stocks of the grain-dealers. In this way the chief beneficiaries, whenever natural calamities, draughts and famine occurred, were the grain-dealers. Above all the imperial visits greatly benefited the dealers as Imperial camps were attended to by large retinues which led to further scarcity of food and fodder.[7]

During the imperial visits large quantity of food and fodder was appropriated form the merchants for use in the imperial camp.[8] A small quantity was exported to Ladakh and Baltistān,[9] Rajouri *bāsmati* rice was sent for imperial kitchen.[10] Besides the cereals, saffron, chestnut, fruits and vegetables were main articles of agricultural trade.[11] Chestnut was appropriated by farm contractors and then sold to the *biryān Faroshān.*[12]

1. Irfan, Habib, "Potentialities of Capitalist Development in the Economy of Mughal India," paper presented in the International Economic History Congress, p.9.
2. *Iqbal Nama Jahāngīri*, III, p. 564
3. *A.N., III*, p. 549, (ii) *Inshai Har Karan* (Folios not page marked), (iii) Ṣāhib Rāi, *Durrul-'Ulūm*, f. 164b.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid, (ii) Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 530b, (iii) *Insha'i Faiz Bakhash*, f. 19-20
6. "Akhbārāt, 39 & 43rd R.Y." (ii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 327b.
7. "JRASB, Vol 23, (N) pp. 115-16.
   (ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 290
8. *Tuzuk*, p. 286
   (ii) Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 230
9. Desideri, *Travels etc., p. 72*
   (ii) Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jummu etc., p. 311
   (iii) *Dowson Ross*, "R.A. S. London, 1850," p. 372
10. *A' in, I, pp.* 62-3 (N.K.)
11. *A' in*, pp. 62-63
    (ii) Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 34
12. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 531-32b.

V DRAUGHTS, FAMINE AND MEASURES OF RELIEF :

In spite of strict adherence to the natural climatic schedule, the former was deprived of his toil from time to time, by the climatic truancies. The Kashmiri peasant started his agricultural operation right from the *Nauroze.*[1] His minutest negligence could have spoiled his entire crop easily, because the snowfall on the mountain tops in the early autumn days withered the unripe crops. Moreover, man made barriers also were very often responsible for the failure of crops. Uninterrupted warfare and the imperial visits were no less harmful to the toiling peasant.

In 1597 Kashmir experienced the first famine under the new rule. The oppressive role of occupation forces, and the continuation of Mughal-Chak skirmishes had compelled the tenants to abandon their ancestral land.[2] The imperial camp comprised more than 25000 souls, further aggravated the food situation.[3] The price automatically shot up and the poor people failed to meet out their meagre demands. This caused a terrible panic in the Subah.[4] The Children were exposed to sale.[5] Thousands of people died and many more fled. Keeping in view this experiment, Jahangir,during his visit in 1622, directed his attendants to arrange their provisions before leaving for Kashmir.[6] Akbar promptly came to the rescue of the people. Free kitchens were opened every where in the cities and principal towns where thousands of people were served two time meals.[7] In order to alleviate his subjects, Akbar ordered the construction of Nāgar Nagar fort. The labourers were paid in cash and in this way hundereds of them earned their livelihood.[8] Besides this, other measures were also undertaken. Cash grants were awarded to many people during his stay and prices were fixed.[9] The grain dealers were asked to follow them strictly.[10]

During the reign of Jahangir there was no crop failure but plague and fire devastated a considerable portion of the Subah during 1622-24.[11] Thousands of people died because of this terrible plague.[12] The magnitude of the plight was great, perishing entire families,[13] and this plague was followed by a devastating fire. More than 12000 houses burnt in the city of Srinagar. After two years the plague subsided.

In 1642, during the reign of Shah Jehān a terrible flood devastated the entire valley.[14] 4000 houses were grounded around the Dal Lake alone.[15] Next year the failure of rains further aggravated the situation. This caused a terrible shortage of food and fodder.[16] The

people left Kashmir in search of subsistance. More than 30,000 people went to Lahore, where they appealed to Emperor for relief.[17] The farmers were not able to cultivate the land as neither seed nor the oxen were available. The deserted lands depicted a horrible picture.[18] Numberless free kitchens were opened in the city and on road-sides.[19] Grain ; was sent from Lahore, Gujarat and Ahmedabad to Kashmir.[20] *Taqāvī* loans besides the seeds and oxen were distributed among the peasants.[21] Tarbiyat Khān, the Ṣubahdār, failed to organise the relief measures efficiently, and he was replaced by Ẓafar Khān.[22]

In 1664-65, untimely snow-fall destroyed the crops. Seventy-nine thousands rupees were sent by Aurangzeb as relief.[23]

Famine on minor scale and other natural calamities in the shape of earthquakes, and fires, were common.[24]

1. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 342
2. St. Xaveir, "JRASB, Vol." 23, pp. 115-16.
   (ii) *A.N., III*, p. 727
3. *Ibid., Tuzuk*, p. 286
4. St. Xavier, "JRASB, Vol 23," p. 116
   (ii) *A.N., III*, p. 727
   (iii) *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngīrī, II*, p. 453.
5. St. Xavier, "JRASB, Vol 23," p. 116
   (ii) Macalgan, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, pp. 77-8.
6. *Tuzuk*, p. 286.
7. *A.N., III*, p. 727
8. *A.N., III*, p. 727. (ii) *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngīrī, II*, p. 454
9. *Ibid, 453*
10. *Ibid*
11. *Ibid Nama Jahangiri, III*, p. 541.
    (ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 220

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.* (ii) *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 124.
14. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, pp. 204-5, 309-10
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 309-10.
    (ii) Mohamad Ṣādiq Khān, *Tarikh-i-Shahjāhāni-wa-Ālamgiri*, f. 53a
17. *Ibid.*
    (ii) *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 140.
18. *Amali Ṣālih, II*, pp. 360-61.
19. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā,II*, pp. 309-10.
20. *Ibid.*,
    (ii) *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 140
21. Mohamad Aslam Mun'ami, *Gouhari Ālam, p. 271*
22. *Tarikh-i-Shāhjahāni*, etc., f. 98; *Gouhari Ālam*, p. 273; *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 140
23. Mohammad Kazim, *Alamgir, p. 830.*
24. *Tuzuk, p. 219*
    (ii) Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175
    (iii) Hasan, *Tārikh-Kashmir*, I, p. 174a.

VI REVENUE ASSESSMENT AND COLLECTION :

The revenue assessment evolved by the Shah Mir Sultāns hold good for a pretty long time. But the civil wars and external intervention threw it out of gear. There was further deterioration in it after annexation to 1589. On account of exhorbitant exactions there was a revolt in 1592 led by one Mirza Yādgār.[1]

This rising finally diverted the attention of Akbar towards the deteriorating administration, though in 1589 while on his first visit to Kashmir, he had appointed Sheikh Faiẓi,[2] Mir Sharif Āmuli[3] and Khawjgi Mohammed Husain[4] to carry on the assessment work in the Maraz division and Khwāja Shamas-ud-Din Khāfi[5] and Kunwar Mān Singh were sent to Kamrāz.[6]

The assessment was carried after the harvest, and, secondly, the local officials, did not extend their full support, so the reports were prepared on the basis of the experience of the authorities.[7] In spite of so many lacunae[8], the reports were quite exhaustive. The reports revealed that the land was divided into tracts, and each tract was called *patta*, each *patta* was equal to one bigha and one biswa in area, according to *Gazi Ilāhi*.

The revenue demand under the Sultans was one-third of the produce, but practically more than two-third was appropriated.[10] The actual *rais'* were found as under :

One man, 30½ sers for mu'ng, mothe, and mash; two mans 20½ sers for kangni and arzan; five mans of paddy; wheat one man, 26 sers, barley one man and 26¾ sers, and lentils and rape one man and 30½ sers from each *paṭṭa*.[11]

The total revenue demand was fixed at half of the produce, and revenue demand was decreased by two lakh kharwārs of paddy.[12] Since the officials of Yousf Khān Rizvī had not been cooperative, and as such the revenue was fixed tentatively. Meanwhile, one Ṭota Ram, *Pēshkār* of Yousf Khān Rizvi, complained against him for embezzlement in the revenue.[13]

Akbar sent Qāẓi ʿAli and Qāẓi Nūrullah to investigate the case.[14] A detailed assessment was carried out, which caused great distress among the soldiers and the servants of Yousf Khān Rizvī, who were deprived of the illegal income exacted from the cultivators.[15] Qāzi ʿAli

was assisted by Hasan Beg Sheikh ʿUmari.[16] He was deputed in 1592 on the request of Qazi ʿAli because the *gumashtās* of Yousf Khān did not cooperate with him.[17]

Qāzi ʿAli divided the sarkar into 42 mahals; each village was assessed and the total demand was fixed at 3063050 lakh kharwārs and II trakhs, out of it 901663 kharwars and 8 trakhs were to be paid in cash at the rate of 13-8/25 dams per kharwar.[18]

The grain was commuted into cash at the rate of 29 dams per kharwar.[19] The total *jama'* was fixed at 74670411 dāms.[20] However, Yousf, Khān Rizvī was reluctant to accept the enhanced *jama'*. The entire Ṣubah was attached to *Khāliṣa* under the charge of Shamas-ud-Din.[21] But, on the recommendation of prince Salim, it was resumed to Yousf, Khān on the previous *jama'*,[22] 622,02,203¼ dāms. Yousf Khan Rizvi was transferred in 1594, and Kashmir was parcelled out amont Ahmad Beg Khān, Mohammed Quli Beg, Hamza Beg, Hasan Beg, Gird Ali, Hasan Ali ʿArab, and Mohammadi Beg.[23] The cultivators were ruined by the harsh *jāgirdārs*, therefore, Āsaf Khān[24] was sent to re-assess the Ṣubah after 1594.[25] New *jama'* was increased by 16392 kharwārs 5 traks, but a subsidy of five dams in each kharwar was recommended. So, in fact, there was no increase in the *jama'*, when commuted into cash, but a decrease of 860034½ dāms.[26] The *jama'* was fixed at 3079443 kharwārs out of it 1011330½ kharwārs were to be paid in cash.[27]

Qāzi ʿAli had divided the sarkar Kashmir in 42 parganas but ʿĀsaf Khān reduced the number to only 38.[28]

As mentioned earlier, the *jāgirdārs* appropriated the surplus produce from the tenants, in the shape of illegal cesses etc. As such cultivators collapsed under the heavy burden of exorbitant taxes.[29] In 1597, Akbar found the Ṣubah in a ruined condition.[30] He immidiately introduced some new reforms in order to ascertain the actual *jama'*. The Ṣubah was divided into 14 divisions, and two bitikchies (one Hindi and the other Persian knowing) were appointed to each division.[31]

All the previous *rais'* were supurious and a fixed *jama'* was realized annually without obtaining information afresh regarding *kāshta* and *uftāda* lands.[32] But the *bitikchies* were instructed to avoid spurious or unauthenticated information. The new demand was fixed according to the fertility of the land and the span of cultivation.

For the land, left uncultivated for a period of ten years or more, the demand in the first year was fixed at one-sixth, one-fourth for second year, one-third for third year and afterwards at the usual rate till under cultivation.[33] In case the land was ploughed after a period of less than ten years and not more than four, the demand was one-fifth for the first year, one-third for the second year and thereafter at one-half, while it was one-third in the first year and one-half in the subsequent years if brought under plough after a period of four years.[34]

In case of cash crops like saffron, the state demand continued the same and the same method of assessment, i.e. *Nasqi-galla-Bakhash* was followed.[35] Under the Sultans the land revenue was realized in kind.[36] but under the Mughals the *mal* was realized in kind and other taxes in cash.[37]

The method of *Nasqi Gala Bakhash* introduced by Akbar continued throughout our period but in a simple form.[38] Obviously the tenants were benefited by this system because they were not directly affected by the fluctuating prices.[39] The burden of droughts, truancies of climate and floods was borne by both the parties viz., the cultivator and the assignee.[39a] But at the same time there were disadvantages as well. It was a cumbersome and expensive method. It involved a great number of officials at the harvests besides the usual village officials.[40] We can easily visualise the difficulties experienced by the peasants under such a method. The presence of a *shiqdar* at the time of harvesting and thrashing was essential. While on the one hand the short spanned harvesting season was a domicile sword hanging over the head of the peasant and on the other he was to wait upon the village official which very might have been responsible for the spoliation of the produce.

In the other regions of Ṣubah like Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Kashtawār, the *zamindārs* continued to levy the taxes according to previous systems,[41] while *Nasqi Galla Bakhash* as the method of assessment remained in force throughout our period in the rest of the *Subah*.[42]

It has been discussed above that the magnitude of land revenue demand was fixed at half of the produce. But above and over the demand, extra burden in the form of *wujūhāt*, *sairjahat*, *habūbāt*, and *farūʿāt* was also borne by the tenants.[43]

It is not possible to determine the percentage of the said taxes in an euclidean way. But it requires explanation if the taxes were included in the *jama'*. But in case of Ushkar it was included in the *Jama'* till 1697 A.D. Nevertheless it was later on dropped on account of his recommendation.[44] during the *Ṣubahdāri* of Ibrāhīm Khān the exempted amount was again included in the *Jamá'* but was permanently exempted when the people approached Aurangzeb. Whatever was realised from the cultivated land was called *māl*,[45] the expenses incurred on its assessment and collection were called *Jehāt*,[46] while the tax imposed upon various occupations and trade was known as *sairjahāt*.[47] There were in addition exaction and perquisities appropriated by the assignees excluding *jama'*, known as *habūbāt* and *farūāt*.[48]

Besides, we have a long list of various impositions like *dāmdārī*, *sirdarakhti*, *dastār — shumāri*, *teli-charāgh*, *hāsili-haṭab*,[49] *chouthāi*.[50] and Kāhdayār[50 a], A levy on the appricot stones was also imposed in the areas where the trees were in abundance.[50b]

Hāsli haṭab was realized at the of two dams per kharwār of *Jama'*, I'taqād Khān[51] increased it to four dāms.[52]

A tax on the villages yielding a revenue of four hundred kharwārs and above was also levied at the rate of 62 dāms.[53] *Sardarakhti* and *kāhcharāi* taxes were included in the *sairjahāt* taxes. After the annexation, the aforesaid *abwābs* were remitted by Akbar.[54] Though Jahāngir explicitly had forbidden the realization of the *sardarakhti* in his 13th year,[55] but practically it was never discontinued.[56] As a matter of fact, during 1622-32, the orchard-owners were compelled to cut down their orchards because of the torturous imposition.[57] After his death Jahāngir again issued directives to the officials not to realize the abolished taxes.[58] Similarly Shahjahān[59] and Aurangzeb[60] exempted the tenants from these taxes. There can be only two assumptions as to why the strictures were issued from time to time. Firstly, either it was a Mughal tradition to provide guidelines to the officials and assignees for the future or secondly, the taxes continued to be realized. Alternately two other considerations might have necessitated the re-statement of their orders viz., firstly, the successive emperors to reassert their authority after their succession issued, such orders, and secondly, the orders issued earlier were never or partially implemented by the officials. This second explanation appears to be

more plausible. As a matter of fact, the state was a protecting arm to the exploiters, and party to this exploitation[61] and this appears to be partly if not wholly, correct, because strictures were issued from time to time in the interest of the tenants and a number of evidences may be cited[62] to support the proposition further. The top-level officials were removed on the complaints of the subjects.[63] Even the taxes actually realised were repaid to the ryots concerned.[64]

1. Srivara, *Kings of Kashmir*, pp. 418-19
   (ii) Badauni, *Muntakhabut-Tawārikh*, II; pp. 394-95.
2. Sheikh Faizi son of Sheikh Mubarak Nagori was born in 1546-47. He was poet and a physician. He held the rank of 400. He died in 1595. (i) *A.N., II*, p. 674. (ii) *A' in, II*. (Blochmann Trans), pp. 549-50.
3. Mir Sharif Āmuli came to India in 1585, and joined the Mughal services. After the death of Mirza Hakim, he was appointed as *Amin* and *Sad'r* of Kabul. He was both a scholar and a poet, and had inclination towards Sufi sect of *Wahdatul-Wajūd*. He held the rank of 900. He died in 1598 A.D., *A.N., III*, 452, 477, 513, 548, 557 and 834. (ii) *A' in, II* (tr. Blochmann), pp. 502-4. (iii) *Ma'asirul-ʿUmarā*, II, p. 289.
4. Khwajgi Mohammed Husain was younger brother of Mohammad Qāsim Mīr Baḥar. He was given the title of Mir Bahr. He came to India in 1560 along with Munim Khān. He was given various assignments from time to time. He held the rank of 900.
5. *A' in, I*, (N.K.), p. 162. (ii) *A.N., III*, p. 548. He died in 1612; *Tuzuk*, p. 114.
6. Raja Man Singh son of Raja Bhagwān Das joined the Mughal service in 1576, and was given the title of *farzand*. He rose to the prominence after the battle of Goganda (Golconda). He held many posts from time to time, and played a vital role during succession crises at the death of Akbar. *Tuzuk*, p. 130. *Tuzuk*, p. 130. He died in 1614, *Tuzuk*, p. 130. See *A.N., I*, pp, 6; *II*, pp. 14, 185, 186, *II*, 280, 288, 342, 372, *III*, 448, 467, 511-17, 548, 576-82, and 834.
7. *Ibid.*, 549
8. *A.N., III*, p. 549
9. *Ibid.* This was not practically in vogue as supported by the documents and local administrative manuals. The area was determined bythe quantity of seed required in the area i.e. an area in which one Kharwār of seed was sown was known as one Kharwar of land. Revenue document Nos. 17, 21, 23.
   (ii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 373a.

   (iii) *A.N., III*, (Beveridge translation), pp. 830-33 and N. According to
   (iv) Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 243, each Kharwār of land was equal to four British acres. Even at present the same tradition is followed. Each *trakh* is equal to two *kanals*.

10. *A.N., III*, p. 549.
    (ii) *A' in, II*, p. 570
    (iii) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 223-24.

11. *A.N., III*, pp. 548-49. There is no substantial difference between the rais' fixed in the rest of the northern India and Kashmir. *A' in,II*, (N.K.), p. 207-8. These were new *rais* and not the old as presumed by Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 224.

12. A' in, II, p. 570 (Bloch); (ii) *A.N., III*, p. 540.

13. *A' in, II*,(N.K.), p. 196. Tota Ram was himself a corrupt official, *Tārikh-i-kashmir*, Anon. (Hindi) RPD Srinagar, f. 8.

14. *A.N., III*, p. 595; (ii)Suka, *Raja Tarangi-Ni tr.* (J.C. Dutt), p. 418. According to Mohammed 'Āzam, *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 118; (ii) Mohammed Aslam Munāmi, *Gouhari 'Ālam*, p. 253. (iii) Birbal Kachroo, *Majmu-u-Tawārikh*, op. cit., the assessment work was carried out by Raja Todar Mal. Some modern historian have also committed the same mistake, J.P. Newal, "JASB, Vol 23" (III), p. 432, Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 194. and P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 390.Akbar paid his first visit to the *valley in 1589*. At the time of his departure, Todar Mal was detained at Lahore, *A.N., III*, p. 537. He died there on 8th November, 1589, *A.N., III*, p. 569. According to Augusts Fedric, *Akbar, II*, pp. 195-96, Todar Mal died on 9th Octover, 1587, which is incorrect. Qāzi 'Āli and Husain Beg were sent in 1591, so the possibility of his presence in Kashmir does not arise at all.

15. *A.N., III*, p. 595; Shrivara, Raja Tarangini, tr. J.C. Dutt, p. 418.

16. Nothing is known about the early life of Hasan Beg Sheikh 'Umari. He was given Pakhli in jāgir in 1589, *A.N., III*, 591. In 1601, his *mansab* was increased to 2500. During the rebellion on Khusrou, he joined the prince along with his five hundered stout Badakhshi soldiers at Mathura. After the repulsion of the revolt, Hasan Beg was put into a cow-hide and tied to a donkey. He died in the same skin on June 11, 1606, *Tuzuk*, p. 32.

17. *A.N., III*, pp. 617-19. During this revenue operation, Qazi Ali was killed in an ecounter with the servants of Yousf Khān Rizvi. Husain Beg Sheikh 'Umari escaped to India via Rajouri. Mirza Yādgār was declared the king, later the revolt was put down and Yādgār was killed. For details, see Chapter I, Section II.

18. Add 7652, f. 297b. In Blochmann edition, 570, it is 901063.8. *A' in II*, 570 (Blockmann), Add 7652, f. 297b. Abul Faz'l gives the following scale of the weights current in Kashmir. 2 dāms weight was equal to 1 pāl, 7½ pāl=1 ser; 4 sers=1 *manwat* or man; 4 mans=1 trakh and 16 trakh=1 kharwār. *A' in,II*, 570, *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 561b-562a. In the colloqial language the *kharwār* was called *khāri*, Suka, (T.C. Dutt), p. 424. Later it appears to have been persianised. I think to translate the *kharwar* as ass load, Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 375, is not correct. According to the same authority each Kharwar was equal to 177.02 lbs., while Lawrance had estimated one kharwar equal to 166-32/35 lbs, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 242.

19. *A' in, II*, (Blochmann), p. 570-71, Add 7652, f. 297b.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Khāwja Shamas-ud-Din son of Khwāja Ala-u'd-Din was a resident of Khawaf a district of Khurāsan. He joined the Mughal Court in 26th R.Y., and was appointed as superintendent of fort Atak. Later on, he was appointed as *Diwan* of Kabul. He died in 1600 at Lahore. *A'in*, (tr. Blochmann), pp. 494-95.
22. *A.N., III*, p. 627; *Cambridge History of India, IV*, p. 140.
23. *A.N. III*, p. 654.
24. *Āsaf Khān* Mirza Qawāmud-Din, J́afar Bēg was son of Bedi-ul-Zamān. Bedi-u'l-zamān was *wazir* of Kāshān during the reign of Shah Tahmasp Shāh. Āsaf Khān joined the Mughal Court in 1577. He left the Mughal Court and attended the Court of Muzaffar Khān of Bengal, because Akbar appointed him only commander of twentry. But after sometime he joined the Mughal Court and was given a rank of 2000, and the title of Āsaf Khān, *A' in*, Blochmann, p. 451-2. In 42nd R.Y., he was appointed *Diwani-kul*. In 1605, his *manṣab* was increasedto 3000. He was promoted to the rank of 5000 by Jahangir. He died in 1612, *Tuzuk*, pp. 1080-109. According to *Ma'asirul ʿUmarā* (Farsia) Akhbar, 108, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh), Āsaf Khān died in 1094 A.H./1682-83, which is incorrect, perhaps a clerical mistake.
25. According to Beveridge, *A.N., III*, pp. 1085-6 n, Āsaf Khān revised the *Jama'* in 1594 while distributing the *subah* among the aforesaid *jāgirdārs*. It appears he has not noticed the reference in *A.N., III*, p. 661, where it is mentioned that Āsaf Khān did not enhance the revenue.
26. *A' in, II*, 570-71 (Blochmann), Add. 7652, f. 297b.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *A' in, II*, (Blochmann), p. 573, Add. 7652, f. 297b.
29. *A.N., III*, p. 732
30. *A.N., III*, p. 726
31. *Ibid*. Beweridge in his translation of *A.N., III*, pp. 1085-6, has wrongly interpreted the following sentence.

    ہمگی ملک را چہار دہ بخش کردہ بہ ہر یک دو تبکچی ایرانی و ہندی فرستادند

    He presumed ' بہ ہر یک دو ' is a clerical mistake and it should be بہ ہر یک دہ.

    (in each village) which is not a fact. See *Iqbal Nama Jahāngīrī, II*, p. 453.
32. *A.N., III*, p. 727
33. *A.N., III*, p. 727. Beveridge has wrongly translated this sentence

    قرار گرفت در کشت و کار ناکشتمند افزون دہ سالہ

    "when the settlement was for more than ten years....." *A.N., III*, p. 1086.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Inscription of Jamiaʿ Masjid, Srinagar,
    (ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 315
    (iii) *Rouzatul Ārifin, f. 15.*
    (iv) Revenue document Nos 7 dated 1082, and 23 dated 1074 R.P.D. Srinagar. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian system of Mughal India, p. 194. has conjuctured the *zabṭi* system was followed in case of cash of cash crops, does not apply, so far as saffron cultivation in Kashmir was concerned.

36. *A.N., III*, pp. 726-27.
(ii) *A' in II*, (Blochmann), pp. 570-71
(iii) *Tuzuk*, p. 300

37. *A' in II*, (Blochmann), pp. 570-71
According to Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 237, the entire land revenue was realised in kind and cash nexus intruduced earlier, was withdrawn. It is partially correct, because the *sairjahāt* taxes were realised in cash. Supra 43. *Tuzuk*, p. 300

38. *A' in, II*, (Blockmann), p.570
(ii) *Durrul U'lūm*, f. 164b.

39. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 239.*

39. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 342a.

40. *Durrul U' lūm*, p. 164b. See the Section III, Part I of this Chapter also.

41. The main source of revenue in Little and Greater Tibet was gold dust collected from the sand of the Indus and Shayok. Lahori *Bādshah Nama, II*, p. 288. Approximately two thousand tolas of gold was collected from the sand, and sold at the rate of rupees seven a tola, *'Amali Ṣālih, II*, p. 264. Sheep and cattle were also levied. The house-hold requirements of the chieftain were provided by the people. Grain was supplied from twenty four villages from Nūbra, besides Lāmyūrū, Skarpoche, Tungmogong, Sespula, and Buzgo, for the chief. Meat was supplied by residents of Rupsho and Ruthog, butter from Zānskār and four thousand maunds of timber was provided by the villages of Chalang, Khurdung and Dhandrddhole valleys. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tarikh-i-Jummu, etc.*, p. 427. Similarly, no tax was imposed on the land in Kashtawar. Each house owner was to pay a sum of six sanhansi equal to four rupees annually, besides, a tex of rupees four was levied on each ser of saffron, but the tax was paid by the customer, *Tuzuk*, pp. 296-97.

42. *Durrul 'U'lūm*, f. 164b.
(ii) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 227
(iii) Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 122.

43. *A' in, I*, pp. 205, 209-10 (N.K.)
(ii) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 243 & n.
(iii)N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, p. 42-43. N.A. Siddiqi, "IESH, Vol II, Part I, January, 1965, p. 375, has presumed the taxes in the crop sharing regions were not separately calculated. But we have a significant evidence in Inshāi Har Karn where a Qabaz of Abdul Laṭif a servant of Ṣamad Khān Jāgīrdār is preserved. He had received rupees sixty on account of habubat from the *Muqadam* of Shawangas village.

44. Village Ushkar was in Parganah Kruhen. It has a large tract of fertile table land. The tenants used to collect timber and fodder for their personal use. They were charged an extra amount of 100781 dams. *Gulsham-i-Dastūr*, f. 343s.

45. *A' in, I*, (N.K.), p. 205
(ii) *Dastūrul 'Amali-Ālamgir*, Add, 6599, p. 30621; f. 28.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *A' in, I*, pp. 205, 209-10 (N.K.)
(ii) *Dastūrulámli 'Ālamgīri*, Add. 6599, p. 30621, f. 28. A list of all such occupations and trades is available in this manual.

(iii) According to *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 552a, *māl* or *māliyā* was the tax on produce of the agricultural land, but the orchards and fodder tax was known as *jehāt*.
(iv) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 243.
(v) N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, pp.42-43.

48. A' in, I, p. 205
(ii) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 243.

49. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 234a-b.

50. *Hasili Hatab* was a tax imposed on each village in connextion with fuel brought from the forests. *A'in, II*, p. 178., and *chouthai* was a tax on the litigants. They had to pay one-fourth of the value of the sued property. This tax was an innovation of Abū Naṣar, Khān *(Gouhari Ālam, Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir)* (ii) Inscription on the gate of Jamia Masjid, Srinagar. (iii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 528a.

51. *Kāhdayār* was a tax on mustard, lentils, cotton, kangni (Selaria italica) and turnip fodder because it was used by the farmers. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 357b.

50b. *Khawāriqu-Sālikīn*, f. 141b.

51. *Qazvini, II*, f. 267b-268a. (ii) Jamia Masjid Inscription.
(iii) Birbal Kachroo, *Majmūt-Tawārikh*, op.cit. has also preserved a copy of the same inscription.

52. Ibid. But it was appointed in the 8th R.Y. Inscription on the gate of Jama Masjid.

53. *Ibid*. Before his appointed two sheep were to be paid, but Shahjahān abolished the cess completely.

54. *A' in I*, (N.K.), pp. 209-10; Dutt, J.C., *Kings of Kashmir*, p. 418.

55. *Tuzuk*, p. 252.

56. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 297-98b.
(ii) *Durrul Ūlum*, f. 264b.

57. Jamiá-Masjid inscription.

58. Glawdin, *History of Jahangir*, p. 100.

59. Jamia Masjid Inscription,
(ii) *Quzivini, II*, ff. 267-68.

60. Firmān to Risak Das and Hashim Khan.

61. S. Nurul Hasan, "Zamindārs Under the Mughals Land Controls and Social Structure in Indiàn Hostory," pp. 17-31.
(ii) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 191, 256.

62. A'in, 196 198, (ii) 175 etc.
(ii) Jamia Masjid Inscription
(iii) Aurangzeb's firman to Rasik Das and Hāshim Khān.
(iv) "Akhbārāt, 39, 42, 43rd year."
(v) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 524, 532*
(vi) J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 89.
(vii) Khawariqu-Sālikin, f. 119b.

63. *Tuzuk*, p. 294.
Malik Haidar, Chadura, *Tarikhi-Kashmir*, f. 214.

64. A Document dated H 1118 preserved in Research Library, Iqbal Library Kashmir University No. 31.

PARGANAHS AND THE NUMBER OF VILLAGES IN 1707*

TABLE NO. 1

S. No.	Name of Parganahs	No. of Villages	Footnotes
1.	Balda Srinagar excluding Mahāl Mīr-Baḥari	15	
2.	Islāmābād	106	
3.	Ular	121	
4.	Inch[1]	104	
5.	Advin	208	1. Inch of *A'in, II*, (N.K.), p. 176 Yecha of Moorcraft *Travels, Vol 2*, p. 113.
6.	Indar Kot[2]	8	
7.	Bāngil	203	
8.	Beeru	182	2. Indarkol of Jarrets, Translation of *Ā'in, II*, p. 356
9.	Brang	70	
10.	Bātu	63	
11.	Phāk	64	
12.	Telegām	46	
13.	Devasar	162	
14.	Dachin Khawoora	102	
15.	Wohi	120	
16.	Dachin Pārā	80	
17.	Khawur Pārā	56	
18.	Zainapôra	30	
19.	Zainagir	98	
20.	Sair-ul-Mawāzi‘	109	
21.	Sopra Soman	21	
22.	Shakroha	97	
23.	Showūra	59	
24.	Shahabād	21	
25.	Kutahār	41	
26.	Krohen	68	
27.	Khuihāmā	55	2a. Kamrāz Parganah was stretched over a vast territory. It was divided into 6 Taphas : 1. Tapah Hamal, 2. Machipūra, 3. Ramhāl, 4. Niheri, 5. Utar, 6. Lolāb.
28.	Khoi	14	
29.	Kamrāz[2]	469	
30.	Lār	87	
31.	Manchihāmā	89	
32.	Mārtand	11	

33. Mohammadabad	30
34. Nāgām[3]	200
35. Wunts[4]	
36. Greater Tíbet	30
37. Little Tibet	No of villages not mentioned.
38. Kashtawār*	
39. Gilgit	
40. Barshāl	
41. Sarsāl	
42. Pakhli	
43. Dardu	
44. Doomyāl	
45. Damtūr	
46. Kāshāk	
47. Kamlāk	
48. Kahāl	
49. Punch	
50. Rajouri	
51. Maruwardwan	
52. Noushahra	
53. Bānihāl	

3. Comprised of three Tapas : 1. Chirāt, 2. Nāgām, 3. Arigām.

4. Dainsum of *Moorcroft, II*, p. 113.

*In a latter work *Tawārikhi Kashtawār*, MSS 577 of Mohammad Akhoon, we are able to have a list of villages of Kashtawār which is given hereunder. See also *Tārikh-i-Kashtawār*, Shivji Dhar, Ms 1729, Iqbal Library, University of Kashmir.

S. No.	**Name of Parganah**	**No. of Vill.**
1.	Nag Seeni	14
2.	Pādar	30
3.	Jaskar (Consisting 6 pattas)	50
4.	Mardwa Wardwon	21
5.	Dachna	6
6.	Audail	9
7.	Kontwarda	23
8.	Sarword, Sarthāl (2 Tapas)	26
	Total	179

(*) Mainly based on *Mukhtasar Tawārikh-i-Kashmir* by Narain Koul 'Ājiz, and supplanted with the information contained in *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, compiled in 1748, and *Tarikh-i-Hasan* MS I Vol. I.

PARGANAH-WISE LAND REVENUE BASED ON THE REPORT OF QĀZI ʿALI AND ĀSAF KHĀN

TABLE II

REVENUE IN 1589 (KHARWARS)

S. No	Name of Parganah	Paid in kind	Paid in Cash	Footnotes
1.	Inch[1]	144102-	2634-4-0	1. I'tchch in *Jarret,* and Ulang in Sheifta Collection MS
2.	Brang	78834-4	8779-	
3.	Wahi	209332-8		
4.	'Ular	128656-4	12605-8-0	
5.	Phāk	71111-12-	17402-8-0	
6.	Dachin Pāra	75153-0-0	6902-12-0	
7.	Khowar Pāra	45286-8-0	3575-12-0	
8.	Kuthār[2]	37479-4-0	3221-12-0	2. Khatar of *Jattet, II,* p. 355.
9.	Marū Wardwan (Marū Ādwin)		5041-0-0	
10.	Mattan	19043-8-0	1862-8-0	
11.	Ādvin	101432-4-0	14815-10-0	
12.	Ich[3]	98369-0-0	14377-4-0	3. Yecha of Moorcraft, *Travels, Vol, II*, p. 113.
13.	Bānihāl	6435-0-0		
14.	Batū	3521-0-0	4235-8-0	
15.	Devasar	85644-8-0	8229-8-0	
16.	Zainapūr	15875-4-0	1790-12-0	
17.	Soporsoman[4]	6133-0-0	2003-4-0	4. Excluding Hāṣil Haṭab.
18.	Shawoora	39167-0-0	8550-12-0	
19.	Shakrooh	45204-0-0	12757-8-0	
20.	Nāgām	89770-12-0	22576-4-0	
21.	Ver	12270-8-0	00838-0-0	
22.	Zainagir[5]	13253-0-0	3255-8-0	5. Zenakar of *Jarret,* II, p. 355.
23.	Khoihāmā	15522-0-0	83607-0-0	
24.	Indarkot[6]	9553-4-0	7238-0-0	6. Indarkol of *Jarret,* II, p. 355.
25.	Parispora	18803-12-0	3352-0-0	
26.	Pattan	4799-4-0	523-0-0	
27.	Bāngil[7]	15233-12-0	20280-4-0	7. Bankal of *Jarret, II,* p. 355.

28. Beeru	57098-12-0	13383-0-0	
29. Telagām	15415-12-0	4435-0-0	
30. Dansū	53219-8-0	17038-8-0	
31. Dachin Khawoora	36222-4-0	20653-0-0	
32. Sairul-Mawazia[8]	192641-4-0	18553-12-0	
33. Khui	12945-4-0	370-0-0	
34. Krohen	115474-0-0	29779-12-0	
35. Kamrāz	342844-4-0	103725-4-0	
36. Lār[9]	128650-0-0	22650-0-0	
37. Balda Srinagar[10]	1698-4-0	42694-12-0	

8. From each parganah a few fertile villages were attached to Khaliṣa and were termed as Sairul-Mawāzia. The total number of these villages was 109 (Narain Koul 'Ājiz in 1709).

9. Pargana Lār has not been mentioned in any of the MS of *A'in* while it was assessed by Shamasud-Din. The revenue figures for this pargana are from *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, MS, Vol I.

10. Since the figures in various manuscripts vary from each other, I have consulted the following MS: Add. 7652, Br. MS., Blochmann (ed) *Jarrets II*, Sheifta, Collection MS & Sir Sulaiman Collection of M.A. Library, AMU., Aligarh. Nowal Kishore edition 1889.

TABLE III

JAMA'DĀMI FIGURES

Year	Jama'dami	Sources
1592-3	7,46,70,411	*A'in*, I, 570-71 (Bloch)
1594-95	7,63,72,165¾	"
"	6,22,02,203¼	"
1595-96	6,21,13,045	"
1633-38	11,93,80,000	*Farhang-i-Kardani*
1638-1656	15,00,00,000	*Lahori*
"	14,00,00,000	"
"	14,68,50,000	"
"	11,43,80,000	"
"	14,02,00,000	"
"	11,71,80,000	"
"	12,62,85,000	"
"	11,43,80,000	"
"	14,02,01,900	"
1646-47	13,64,12,039	Add. 16863
1647	15,37,50,000	*Tārikh-i-Shahjahānī*
1646-56	15,02,00,000	Dastur-Ul'Amal-i-Navisandagi
C.1656	11,43,90,000	*Dastur-Ul'Amal-i-'Ālamgiri*
c. 1667	21,30,74,826	*Mir'at-ul-Ālam*, Add. 7657
c. 1687-91	22,49,11,397	*Zawābita 'Ālamgiri*, Add. 6598, or 1641
c.1685-1695-96	22,99,11,397	Frazer 86
1687	22,99,11,397	*Intikhab-i-Dastūr-ul-Amal-i-Padshāhi*
1697-98	27,79,11,397*	*Khulāsa-tu-Siyāq*. *According to *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 437b. It was 27,32,694 dams only
1703	22,99,16,698	*Khalaqus-Siyāq*
1707	22,99,09,680	*Storia*, II (3)
1709	22,99,11,300	*Sajan Rai Bhandari*

CHAPTER : III

THE LAND REVENUE ORGANIZATION

Revenue assessment and collection was the most cumbersome job. This process stretched over nearly the entire year. It involved a large number of officials with the *Dīwān* at the top and village *muqaddam* and *patwari* at the bottom.[1]

As a matter of fact the entire bureaucracy was directly or indirectly involved in land revenue administration. Every *manṣabdār* held a rank and he received fixed remuneration in terms of area where he was to collect the revenue.[2] The state in lieu of his service provided the salary in cash of assigned certain area with the *jama* equal to the remuneration of his rank. The state thus delegated its authority to the *Manṣabdārs* to collect the revenue and charge their emoluments and the cost of the maintenance of their respective contingents from such accumulations. They administered their *jāgirs* through their agents. The villages where revenue was collected directly by the State, were known as k͟hāliṣa. The chiefdoms of Little and Greater Tibet, Kashtawār, and Pakhli were assigned to the local chieftains as their *waṭan jāgīrs,* and they carried on the administration according to the traditional set-up.[3] The revenue of these newly acquired territories was fixed arbitarily and without any regard to actual realisations in order to determine the rank of the *waṭan jāgīr* holder.[4] The Centre did not intervene in their territories so long they remained peaceful and paid the *pēshkash,* whatsoever, regularly.[5]

But the *jāgīrdārs* and *madadi ma'āsh* grant holders were bound to conform to the imperial directives and strictures while collecting the revenue.

In the land revenue administration, there were two sets of officials who were directly involved in it, viz, firstly, those who were appointed by the government and were subject to transfers; secondly, the permanent hereditary village officials like *Muqaddam, Patwari, Qānūngo* and *Choudhari.* The services of the permanent village officials were most essential in the K͟hāliṣa and equally in *jāgīrs as well. Their pivotal role was to a larger extent responsible for shaping the socio-economic set up.*[6] *But here we are concerned with their service which they rendered in connection with the land revenue administration.*

Muqaddam, who played the part of an intermediary was the main pillar of land revenue system. His services along with the village paṭwāri were essential but he was never considered a government servant.[6a] He assisted the *Kh̲āliṣa* officials and the agents of the *jāgīrdār* in assessment and collection of land revenue.[17]

The grain was carried to the city of Srinagar through river transport. Therefore, it was the exclusive responsibility of the *muqaddam* to supervise and see if the grain collected in his village was delivered to the boatmen who were called *Tahvīldārs*.[8]

In order to prevent the shortfall in the revenue realisation taqavi loans and seeds were advanced to the ryots through him.[9] He was to sign an undertaking guaranteeing the repayment of loan, cost of seed along with the interest.[10] He functioned as the sole representative of the villagers and in due course of time *muqaddam* turned to be most resourceful and powerful person.[11] On account of identical interests *muqaddam* logically might have been fighting on behalf of the peasants against the atrocities of the *jāgīrdārs*. A solitary but significant evidence in *Kh̲awāriqu'us-Sālikīn* also supports our inference. Village Pānzaṭ of the *pargana* Nāgām was in the *jāgīr* of *ṣubahdār*. His agents were cruel and harassed the tenants. Sheikh Fatah Ḍār *muqaddam* of the village raised his voice against the agents.[12] Later he was imprisoned by the *Subahdār*.[13]

But at the same time the *muqaddam* did not lag behind in exploiting the tenants when his own interests were involved.[14] The muqaddam kept the ryots divided and encouraged dissension among them.[15] In some villages there used to be more than one *muqaddam*,[16] possibly because of the hereditary character of the institution.

In lieu of their services (*muqaddami*), they received some perquisites in the form of revenue free land called *Nankar*.[17]

PAṬWĀRI :

Paṭwāri was hereditary village accountant,[18] a close associate of muqaddam, and an accomplice of Qānūngo, who collectively turned a *dehqān* to a bonded labourer.[19] In his satiricle compilation Hamidullah Shah Ābādi gives us an interesting information about the tricks of the *paṭwāris* played with the peasants. His primary duty was

to maintain land records,[19a] since the continuation of the land records was essential for determining the land revenue.[20] But to conceal his deciet he prepared spurious records besides the authentic ones.[21] he accompanied *muqaddam* to pargana office at the time of annual verification of revenue assessment, collection and distribution of *taqāvi* and seeds.[22] They were supposed to offer *Nazrānā* to *Pēshkār* and *Muharir* of the revenue court.[22a]

TAHWĪLDĀR:

Most of the state demand in the *Ṣubah* was realized in kind[23] and the grain was deposited with the *Tahwildārs* or *Havāldār* or *Ambārdārs*.[24] Sometimes, the grain was collected in the same village in the granary of the *Tahvīldār*,[25] who later carried it to the nearest river port wherefrom it was transported to Srinagar.[26] Sometimes, the ryots carried the grain in person and delivered the same to the *Tahvīldār*, who apparently used to be a boatman.[27] The whole transaction was supervised by the *muqaddam* of the village.

The *Tahwildārs* executed an undertaking promising the safe delivery of the grain without any adulteration or embezzlement.[28] Samples of the grain were retained by the *muqaddam* for checking the grain at the time of delivery.[29]

They charged the *mālguzār* with some extra grain in order to meet out wastage, and at the time of delivery he was given some rebate as well.[30] But at the time of his appointment his financial condition was also taken into consideration.[31]

Where the duties of *Ambārdār* were separate he was paid at the rate of 3 seers per kharwār. *Musharif* accompanied him while he was in his *mahal*.[31a] It appears that an *ambārdār* was in charge of a *mahāl* where he was supposed to see if the share of the state was properly refunded.[31b]

The chestnut growers had to pay the carriage charges to the Tahwildār at the rate of one tanka per *kharwār*.[32] *These operations were administrated by the pargana officials, the ʿĀmil, Amīn, Choudhari* and *Qānūngo*. Besides, there were *kārkūn*, or *Betikchi*, *Mutaṣadi*[32a] and *Fotadār* whose services were utilised for this purpose.

ʿĀMIL OR KARORI :

This institution was introduced in the Ṣubah by the Mughals. In 1586, Akbar appointed *ʿāmils* in each pargaṇa to take charge of revenue administration.[33] The primary duty of *ʿāmil* or *karori* was to supervise and expedite the collection of the revenue assessed by the *amīn*.[34] He was to ensure the cultivation of the arable land and provide *taqāvi* and seeds to the tenants.[35] In case the money was not available in the treasury the amils borrowed it from the *mahājans*.[36] At the time of revenue collection coercion was also applied if the tenant was adamant to pay the revenue.[37]

Mahāsils were appointed in each village in order to watch grain fields, thrashing grounds, orchards and other fruit trees and to expedite the revenue collection by the *amil*.[37a]

The following papers and registers were maintained by the karori.

Jama-wa-Aṣalbāqi, roznāmcha, adwārcha, Jamābandi, Jamaʿ-wa-Kharch Foṭadār, maintenance of rate lists.[38] A copy of these documents was also submitted to the Provincial *Dīwān*.[39]

In liue of his services he received eight per cent of the revenue during the reign of Shahjahān, later he reduced it to 5 per cent.[40] During the reign of Aurangzeb he received 4 kharwars per 100 kharwārs. One per cent of the commission was retained till the auditing was completed.[42] His account papers were subject to rigorous checking particulary after his dismissal or transfer. It took a great deal of time, obviously the amils had to remain in the prisons for a longer duration.[43]

ʿĀmil was assisted by a large retinue of officials in his work. They were called *Kārkun* or *bitikchī*, *mutaṣadi* and *Sehbandis*. Out of these *Kārkun* or *bitikchī* was of considerable importance.[44] His primary function was the maintenance of the account records. He received the revenue papers from the *Qānūngo* furnishing the details about the land of each individual cultivator village-wise.[45]

In 1597, Akbar divided the Ṣubah into 14 divisions and two *bitikchīs* were appointed in each division in order to scrutinize the village records and effect the fresh assessment.[46] *Kārkūn* was appointed on the recommendation of the *Amīn*.[47]

FOṬADĀR OR KHAZINADĀR:

There was a treasury in each *Parganā* and a central one in the provincial capital. The officer in charge was called *Khazīndār* or khazānchi.[48] He was assisted by one assistant called madadgār; besides *Amin, Dārogah, Musharif* and *pēshkār.*

The main function of this office was to receive the revenue from the royats directly or through the *muqaddam*. The *Khazanchi* was not entitled to disburse any amount without prior permission of the *Diwan* who controlled the treasuries in the *Ṣubah*. Nevertheless, in case of any emergency the *Khazānichi* could spend some reasonable amount in consultation with his colleagues and subsequent approval of *Diwān*.[49]

At the time of his appointment his financial position was also considered.[50]

AMĪN OR MUNSIF:

Literally *Amīn* means a trustee. But practically he had to perform multifarious duties. He was a trustee who looked after the interests of ryots, and *jāgīrdārs* as well as of the state.[50a]

During the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr, *Amīn* was a *sarkār* official, but Shahjahan appointed *Amīns* in every *mahal* which undermined the importance of the *ʿĀmil*.[51] Hitherto *ʿĀmil* supervised the entire *pargana* administration, but with the changed arrangement the *karori* only was to realize what the *Amīn* assessed.[52]

Amin resolved disputes arising among assignees on the demarcation of their holdings and such other disputes relating to *jagirs*.[53] He maintained the following records : *Mawāzina Dah Sālā*, and *Tūmāri-Jama-Bandi*, bearing the signatures of Choudharis, Qānūngo and Qāẓi. A copy of the papers maintained in his office was sent to the *Dīwān*.[54] He went in person from village to village to ascertion the actual cultivated land and *u'ftāda*[55] in consultation with the *muqaddam* and the *Qanūngo*.[56]

QĀNŪNGO:

It is significant to find out whether *Qānūngo* was a village or a *parganā* official. Abul Fazl explicitly records in the *Ā'in* that there was a *Qanungo* in each *pargana*.[57] A similar official functioned in the province and was known as *Qānūngo-i-Kul*.[58] But a controversy has arisen on account of the significant evidences available in *Badshahnāma Qazvīnī*, and *Shahjāhān Nāmā* of Mohammad Ṣālih Kumbu stating that there were numerous *Qānūngos* in each village[59] and Shahjāhān in 6th R.Y. ordered the dismissal of all the additional *Qānūngos* known as *Qanungo-i-Jz'va*[60] which raises the assumption that since the *Qānūngoship* was a hereditary right and divisible among the successors. Therefore, the number kept on *increasing. In order to have equal share in each village the Qānūngos* have obviously divided these villages among themselves. This inference is further supported by a late 18th century administrative manual also.[61]

As such some additional *Qanungo* were appointed in each *pargana* subject to the mutual consent of the tenants. They received their emoluments from them which was known as *rasum*.[61a] The Qānūngo-i-Juz did not receive any *sanad* from the State.

The *Qānūngo-i-Jz've* continued functioning in spite of the explict orders of Shahjahan.[62] The existence of more than one *Qūnūngo* was an additional burden on the peasants and *jāgīrdārs* because of their extortionate exactions and fraudulant accounts[63] which undermined the law and the sanctioned usage.

Qūnūngo was considered to be a "walking dictionary" of prevailing rules, customs, traditions and practices.[64] He maintained land records pertaining to assignments, grants and *khālisa* besides the revenue returns.[65] A duplicate copy of the papers was sent to the *Qānūngo-i-Kul*.[66]

The *Qānūngos* were catagorised in three grades, and their pay was fixed rupees fifty, thirty and twenty respectively in the form of *Jāgīr-i-Tan*.[67]

CHOUDHARI :

The *Choudhari* was a *parganā* as well as a provincial official.[68] He functioned as a representative of the villagers and head of the *muqaddams*.[69] The office was hereditary,[70] but sometimes it was also conferred on new incumbents.[71] It was the pleasure of the state to appoint or dismiss any *Choudhari*. Aurangzeb issued an order that there could not be more than two *Choudharies* in one *pargana*.[72]

Choudharies usually used the good offices of the *Pēshkārs* to safeguard their own interests. They entered into league to mislead ther *Subahadar* who by virtue of the nature of his duty was not, very often acquainted with the local traditions.[72a]

The prestige of provincial *Choudhari* increased tremendously, especially during the reign of Aurangzeb.[73] They played a vital role in the economic exploitation of the peasants.[73a] The state kept them informed of all the assignments, grants, transfers and appointments.[74]

Ijāradāri was a common feature during the reign of Aurangzeb.[75] *Choudharies* entered into a league with the *mustājir* while farming out the *khālisa* land.[76]

Choudhari Mahēsh Koul grew so powerful that even *Ṣubahdār* was afraid of *him*[77] He laid out a magnificient garden on the bank of Dal Lake spending thousands of rupees *on* its beautification.[78]

DĪWĀN :

The *Dīwān* was the chief revenue and finance officer at the provincial level. His position was next to that of the *Ṣubahdār*.[78]

ʿQaziʿAli was the first *Dīwān* appointed in 1591 by the Emperor Akbar.[79] He was assisted by a large retinue of officials. Qāẓi's land revenue assessment provided a base for the Mughal land revenue system in Kashmir.[80]

In 42nd year Akbar issued an order to make the *Dīwān* directly answerable to the Emperor and his status was elevated and he stood next to the *Subahdar*.[81] But usually the *Dīwān* and *Ṣubāhdār* carried on the work without any animosity or confrontation.[82] As a matter of fact in the absence of *Ṣubahdār* the *Dīwān* discharged his duties as *naib-ṣubahhdār*. This inference is supported by various pieces of evidence.

Abul Fateh was *Dīwān* of Kashmir. During the absence of Hafizullah Khān, he functioned as the *Naib-Ṣuba* for more than a year.[83] 'Ārif Khān also discharged his services as a *nāib-i-suba* during the *Ṣubahdāri* of Ali Mardan Khan who used to stay out of the *Subah* during the winter months.[84] Mullah Ashraf was *Sad'r* and *Diwan*. He also discharged his duties as *Naib* of Ibrahim Khan,[85] in 1687-8.

It is also significant that pluralities of offices were conferred on some incumbents and the same person could function as the *Diwan*, the *Sad'r*, the *Qāẓi*, and the *Qānūngo-i-Kul*.[86] Mullah Ashraf was *Sad'r* as well as Dīwān.[87] Khwaja Hashim was *Qānūngo-i-Kul* and held the post of *Dīwān* also.[88] Qāzi Aslam was *Qāẓi, Bakhshi, Wāqā-i-Nigār* and held the post of *Dīwān* also.[89]

The combination of so many posts in one person would have encouraged corruption and malpractices.[90]

Provincial *Dīwān* was directly appointed by the Emperor on the recommendation of the *Diwān-i-'Āla*.[91]

As stated above the *jāgīrdārs* were free to administer and manage their own *jāgīrs according to their choice*.[92] *Diwān* was liasion between the state and the assignee.[93] *Diwan scrutinized and executed sanads* and the *firmāns* to the assignees.[94]

The *pargana* officials submitted the records pertaining to revenue administration to him. He accordingly advanced information to the *Diwān-'alā*.[95] The *Dīwān* also exercised general supervision over the revenue ministry. He could dismiss any corrupt official.[96] He took note of the arrangements for the distribution of taqāvi and seeds.[97] He resolved the disputes arising among the *jāgīrdārs* and the *must'ājir*.[98] The following documents were maintained in his office. Receipt of official letters and their execution, assessment and collection reports, income and expenditure papers, treasury records, grant and assignment papers and agreements and undertakings executed with the state servants and assignees.[99]

The *Dīwān* was a *manṣab-holder* and received *jāgīrs* in lieu of his services.[100]

The office of the *Dīwān* was also called *Kacheri Dīwāni*. He was assisted by an assistant known as *peshkar*. He had two clerks at his disposal. Next to him in rank was called *Daroga*. He was helped by a

pēshkār and one clerk known as *Muhariri Wasūli*. The main function of the latter was to receive the letters and collect the fines etc. etc.

The main office was run by a *munshi*. He was assisted by a few other officials called *Daftar-Band* and *Mudadgār*.[100a] Their emoluments varied from regime of regime. During the *Subahdari* of Ibrahim Khan the *Peshkar* was paid only Rs. 25 while under Jafar Khan he was given Rs 61, but under Sadat Khan he was paid only Rs. 20[100b]

The big *jāgīrdārs* and the princes of the royal blood who had large areas in their *jagirs* almost followed an identical administrative set up. They appointed their own amala,. and the reguisite staff.[101]

1. B.B. Misra, *The Administrative History of India*, p. 638.
   Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 127
2. Abdul Aziz, *Manṣabdāri System of the Mughals*, etc. pp. 1-4
3. See Chapter II : for further details.
4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 294; Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, *II*, *p*, *287*.
5. *"Akhbārāt, 12 Rabiul Awal, 43 R.Y." Muharam, 13th R.Y.*
6. *Khawariqus-Sālikīn*, f. 119a
   Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 400-1
   Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 177.
   S.Nurul Hasan, Zamindars under the Mughals, published in Land Control and Social Structure in Indian history, p. 25.
   E.F. Knight, *Where the Three Emperors Meet*, pp. 65-66.

6a. *Khawāriq-us-Sālikīn*, f. 119a.
   Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 129-30

7. *Inshai Har Karan*, (Folios not page-marked) 406/139 Subhanullah Collection, Maulana Azad History, AMU., Aligarh.
8. *Farhang-i-Kārdani*, ff. 35-36.
   Letter Collection Acc *No. 2776* f. 7ab.
   Research Library, Srinagar.
9. *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, ff. 530b, 531a.
10. *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, ff. 314a-b, 524a.
   Farhang-i-Kardani, ff. 35-36.
   Moreland, *Agrarian system of Moslem India*, p. 177.
   Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*. pp. 131-32.
   Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 447.

11. *Khawāriqus-Sālikīn*, p. 177.
E.F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, pp. 65-66.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 447.

12. *Khawariqus-Sālikīn*, f. 119a.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Hamidullah Shahābādi, Dastūrul ʿAmal*, f. 4.

15. *Ibid.*
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India, P. 132.*

16. *Inshai Har Karan*, 406/139, Subhanullah Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 314a-b.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 131

17. *Diwan Pasand*, f. 41.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 532a.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 447.
E.F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, pp. 65-66
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, P. 127
S. Nurul Hasan, "Zamindars Under the Mughals," p. 25.

18. The institution was existing in the *subah* since a very long time by the name of *Grāmadivira*. R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*. p. 401.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 447.

19. Hamidullah Shahābadi *Dasturul Amal*, f. 7.
(ii) E.F. Knight, *Where Three* Empires *Meet*, p. 78

19a. A'in, I, p. 209; Ifran Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 135.
N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration, pp. 18-19.

20. *A'in*, I, p. 209; P. Saran, *Provincial Administration*, etc., p. 243.

21. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 446

21a. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*. p. 135.

22. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 534b.

22a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 532a.

23. *A'in*, II, pp. 273-74. Add. 7652, f. 297b.

24. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 431a, 452b.

25. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 430b.

26. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 431a.

27. Inshai Har Karan, op. cit. Ramzan Bhat, boatman, was *Tahvildar* for the village Badr (village not identified) of *pargana* Brang. Karam Hanji, son of Rajab Mathanji, was *ghatdar* of village Kemu, *Insha No.* 3102. Research Library, Srinagar; *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 531a.

28. *Insha Collection* No. 3102, op. cit, Research Library, Srinagar.

29. Ibid. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 531a; *Insha Collection* No. 3102, Research Library, Srinagar.

30. *Mālguzār* is one who was to pay the *mal*.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 530b.

31. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345b.

31a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 347a, 452b.

31b. He received his emoluments only after the grain was delivered to the *Tahwildārs*. See *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 347a.

32. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 530b.

32a. According to P. Saran *Mutasdi* had a vide canotation and was applied to various types of executive officials. *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 102.

33. *Tabqāti-Akbari*, pp. 371-2.
Hasan Beg Khāki, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 36a.
In 19th year Akbar introduced some new measures to check the frauds and embezzlements. An area yielding a carore of tankas was assigned to an official called *Karori*; the experiment was later discontinued, but the word Karori still stuck to the amil or amalguzār. *Ā'in, II*, p. 288. *Khulastus Siyāq*, f. 26a; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal* India, pp. 275,80.

34. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 533b.
Dastūrul Āmli Ālamgiri, Add. 6599, f. 196,
Khulāsatus-Siyaq, f. 27. *A'in* in the chapter of *Amal Guzar* has laid down detailed directives for karori.

35. *A'in, II*, p. 288 (N.K.), *Diwān Pasand*, p. 30621, f. 6;
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 524.

36. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 524.

37. A'in, II, p. 288.

37a. *Durrul aloom*, f. 164b. It appears *Mahāsil* and *Mutasadi* was only one official. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, p. 532. See also *Tuzuk*, p. 308.

38. *Zawābita Ālamgiri*, f. 8a, *Hālāt-i-Mamāliki Mahroosā*, Add. 6598, f. 133.

39. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 530a.

40. *A'in*, has not given the pay schedule of Karori, *Khulāsatus-Siyāq*, f. 26; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 289.

41. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 536.

42. *Khulasatus-Siyāq*, f. 27; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 289.

43. Chandhar Bhan Brahman, *Chār Gulshan*, f. 20.
Muhammad Murād Tang, *Tuhfatul Fuqarā*, f. 99a.

44. P. Saran *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 287-8, supposed that *Bitikchi* was a separate official other than *Karkun*. But as a matter of fact, their functions were quite identical. See Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 281.
N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, pp. 19,79,85 and 86.

Sihbandis literally means soldiers or peons employed for the collection of revenue.
They helped the revenue collecting authorities during harvest. *Yāsin's Glossary of Revenue Terms*, f. 66.
These troopers helped *jagirdars* also, and received their perquisites mainly from assignees at the rate of 4 p.c. In the *khāliṣa* lands *Sihbāndi* charges were not imposed. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 536b. See also ff. 523 and 526.

45. *A'in, II*, p. 200 (N.K.) *Nigār Nāma Munshi*, ff. 77a-78b. See also *Dastūrūl-Amali Bakas*, ff. 12-13.

46. *A.N., III*, pp. 726-27. See also Chapter II, Section I.

47. *Nigār-Nāma Munshi*, ff. 78-8.

48. *Gulshan-i—Dastūr*, f. 452a, See also *A'in, II*, pp 231-32. (N.K.), *Nigār Nāma Munshi*, ff. 77a-78b. and *Dasturūl ʿAmali Baikas*, ff. 12-13.

49. The revenue was realized in kind but other cesses were paid in cash.

50. *Diwān Pasand*, f. 83.

50a. *Khulāsatus-Siyāq*, f. 18. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 87. p.Saran,. Provincial *Government of the Mughals*, p. 292. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 84. Hāji Khairullah, *Dastūrul ʿAmali Jahān Kushā, 328-98. Abdus Salam Collection, AMU., Aligarh, ff. 54-5.*

51. *Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal* India, p. 84.

52. *Khulāsatus-Siyāq, f. 18. See Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 254, also.

53. In 1074 H there was a dispute on the demarcation of the land between Sheikh Qasim and Mir Jaʿfar. *Amin* went to person and resolved the dispute.
Document No. 23, Research Library, Srinagar.
Inshai ʿĀlamgiri, 334/67
Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU,. Aligarh.

54. *Zawābita-ʿĀlamgiri*, or 1641. f. 36
Hidāyatul-Qawāid, op. cit.
N.A. Siddiqui, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, p. 84.

55. *Hidāyatul-Qawāid*, op. cit.

56. *Ibid.*

57. *A'in, I*, p. 209

58. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 172.
N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, pp. 87-89.

59. Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāmā*, II, f. 268a.
Kumbu, *ʿAmil Ṣālih*, I, p. 545.
But inscription on the gate of Jama Masjid, dated 7th Isfandyār of Ilahi year, does not mention *Qānūngo-i-Juz.*

60. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāmā, II*, f. 268a.

61. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 531a.
See also Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 84.

61a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr-531a.*

62. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 531.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 445.

63. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāma*, II, f. 268a.
Kumbu, *ʿAmali Ṣālih*, *I*, p. 545.
Abdul Hamid Shahabadi, *Dasturul-Amal*, f. 4.

64. *A'in*, I, p. 209
J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 76-77

65. *A'in I*, p. 209.
J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 76-77

66. N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration*, pp. 87-89.

67. *A'in*, I, p. 209.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 432.

68. N.A. Siddiqui, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, p. 90.

69. I.H. Quraishi, *Mughal Administration* p. 244, suggests that the *Choudhari* was a village headman, which is not supported by facts.

70. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 213.

71. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 148.

72. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 292. S.Nurul Hasan, *Zamindārs Under the Mughals*, p. 25, printed in Journal Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, London.

72a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 438a.

73. Birbal Kachroo, *Majmu-at-Tawārikh* f. 176b.
(ii) P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir* p. 214.
Birbal Kachroo, *Majmut-Tawārikh*, f. 176b. MSS, 177a.
14 Research Library, Srinagar.

73a. Birbal Kachroo, *Majmut-Tawārikh*, ff. 176b, 177a. He received more than 18000 rupees as *Choudhari* from cash and kind *mahals*.

74. See the revenue documents and administrative manuals of this period. Anand Koul, *Archaeological Remains in Kashmir*, p. 73.

75. "Akhbārāt, 39th R.Y.",
Waqaya Ranthumbore and Ajmir, Transcript Copy., the Department of History, AMU., Aligarh, p. 71.

76. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*. f. 434.
Birbal Kachroo, *Majmut-Tawārikh*, f. 176a-b.

77. Diwan Kripa Ram, *Gulzār-i-Kashmir*, p. 214. Anand Koul, *Archaeological Remains in Kashmir*, p. 73
Birbal Kachroo, *Majmut-Tawārikh* f. 177a.

78. Diwan Kripa Ram *Gulzār-i-Kashmir*, p. 214.
P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 401.

79. *A'in, II*, p. 273. Add 7652, B.M., f. 297b.
Firishta, *I*, p. 268, *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 376.
Bada'uni *Muntakhibul-Tawārikh*, *II*, p. 381.
Ma'asir-i-Rahīmi, I, pp. 924-5.
See also Chapter I for his biographical sketch.

79a. P.Saran States that there was dyarchy in the Province, as well as in the *Sarkārs* in which the *Foujdārs* and *ʿAmalquzārs* corresponded to the *Ṣubahdār* and the *Diwan, Provincial Government of the Mughals*, P. 102, but after a thorough perusal of source material, we have solid ground to differ with his opinion.

80. *A'in, II*, p. 273, Add. 7852, B.M., f. 297b.

81. N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, p. 73.

82. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration, p. 62, has remarked that Dīwān* was rival of Subahdar. We don't come across any such evidence in Kashmir. There was substantial difference between the rank of *Dīwān* and *Ṣubahdār*. *Ṣubahdārs* never had a *rank* below 1000 while *Dīwān in many cases held the rank of 200 and not more than 1000. Mir Ahamad Khān, Dīwān* of Kashmir (1682), had a *manṣab* of 500/50 "Akhbārāt, Rajab, 24 R.Y." Rahmat Khan was appointed in 1659 as *Dīwān* of Kashmir with a mansab of 1000/200, Mohammad Kāzim, *ʿĀlamgir Nāmā, I*, p. 487. Hasan Beg had a manṣab of 400/203 "Akhbārāt 43rd year," besides we have substantial information when *Dīwān* was to provide the monthly and periodical information to the *Subahdar, Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 436b

83. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, , p. 176

84. Narain Koul ʿĀjiz, *Mukhtasar Tarikh Kashmir*, f. 106

85. Mohammad Murād Tang, *Tahfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 99a.
Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 193.

86. "Akhbārāt, 26 Shaʿbān, 43rd Year."

87. *Supra 85*

88. *Supra 86*

89. *Ibid. Bādshah Nāmā, Lahori, II*, p. 362.

90. *Inshai-ʿĀlamgiri;* Sulaiman Collection 334/67, AMU., Aligarh, op. cit.

91. *Badshah Nāma, Lahori, II*, p. 362.
"Akhbārāt, 26 Shaban, 43 R.Y.," Ahmad Quli Ṣafvi, *Tarikh-i-Alamgiri*, f. 43a-b. Mohammad Ṣādiq Khān, *Tārikh-i-Shahjahānī*, f. 90a-b.
Ẓawābita ʿĀlamgiri, f. 32a.

92. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 273-74.

93. *Ibid.* p. 294.

94. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 431b.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 294.

95. *Hālāt-i-Mamāliki Mahroosa*, add. 6598, f. 146.

96. *Nigār Nāmā Munshī*, ff. 69-70.

97. Mohamad Ṣādiq Khan, *Tārikh-i-Shahjahān-wa-ʿĀlamgīrī*, f. 97.
Inshāi ʿĀlamgiri, 334/67, Sulaiman Collection, AMU., Aligarh.

98. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, 426.

99. *Halāt-i-Mamāliki-Mahroosa*, Add 6598, ff. 46, 132. *Dastūr-ʿĀmali Baikas*, f. 17.
Khulasatua-Siyāq, National Archives, New Delhi, f. 19.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 431b.

100. *Tarikh-i-Alamgiri*, f. 43a.
"Akhbārāt, 24, 46 R.Y."
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 283.

100a*Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 450b, 451a.

100b*Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 454a.

101. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 522-535b.
P.Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 273-74.
N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, p. 102.

REVENUE ASSIGNMENTS AND GRANTS

It has been stated that the land revenue was a tax on the produce of the land to carry on the day to day administration.[1] In the *khāliṣa* lands, it was collected by the officials of state and deposited in the state treasury, but in the *jagir* lands this right was delegated to *mansabdars* in lieu of certain obligations and duties which they performed for the state.[2] The *mahāls* in the first category were technically called *khāliṣa* and the second as *jāgīrs*.[3]

There were two other types of *jagirs* known as *In'ām jāgīr* and *Mashroot*. *In'ām jāgīr* was conferred on some *manṣabdār* by way of a reward for some extraordinary performance,[4] while *Mashroot* assignment was made subject to the assignee's performing certain duties or fulfilling obligations of a specific nature as elaborated in the terms in persuance of assignment subsequently.[5]

Besides, cash awards or land grants were conferred upon men of letters, eminent scholars, distinguished poets, sufis and muslim ladies.[6] These grants were not subject to any kind of obligation. Such grants were called madad-im'ash grants.[7] The land thus was divided into three divisions, the *khāliṣa*, *jāgīr* and *Madad-i-M'āsh* lands. Most of the land revenue was assigned in *jāgīrs* and about 5 per cent pertained to *khāliṣa*.

Qāzi Ali, the *Dīwān* of Kashmir conducted an exhaustive survey in A.D. 1591 for the proper assessment of the land revenue.[8] He divided the *Subah* into 38 mahals.[9] Some of the most fertile villages in each *pargana* were earmarked for *khāliṣa*.[10] The villages above Srinagar were called *Sairul Mawāziā-bālā* and below Srinagar *Sairul-Mawāziā payeen*.[11] The revenue of these villages was assessed at two lakhs one thousand and ninety-five kharwārs of paddy roughly about 6½ p.c. of the total revenue.[12] Meanwhile, Yousf Khān Riẓvi was reluctant to accept the enhanced revenue and whole of Kashmir was placed under the *Khāliṣa*, but this arrangement remained functional only for a short period.[13]

The ratio between *khāliṣa* and *jāgīr* almost remained the same during the reign of *Jahangir* and Shahjahan. But under Aurangzeb it was reduced to 3.62 per cent in 1673-74[14] and this decline trend continued. In 1669-1700 it was 2.62 per cent.[15]

During 1586 and 1627 saffron-producing area was exclusively earmarked for *khāliṣa*,[16] but later it was also parcelled out among *jāgirdārs*,[17] and only some portions were retained in the *khāliṣa*.

Noushahra,[18] Punch,[19] Damyāl, Karnav, Pakhli[20] and Rajouri[21] were always assigned in *jāgīrs*. While little Tibet, greater Tibet, and Kashtawār were assigned to the local chieftains in *waṭan*.[22] it is peculiar to note that the far-off regions which were exposed to the disturbances and unheavals, were not attached to *khāliṣa*. But as a matter of fact such Mahāls were usually assigned to powerful nobles.

It is also pecular to note that the scenic spots and tourist resorts were either assigned to the princes of royal blood and ladies of haram or to *umara'uẓām*.

Bijbehara was a place of considerable importance. The old fort was repaired by Akbar and a *thānedār* was posted there to administer the Marāz division.[23] The village was assigned to Prince Parvez,[24] Shahjahān assigned this to Dārā Shukoh. It was in his *Jāgīr* along with Noushahra till his death,[25] and Aurangzeb assigned this *jāgīr* to Prince Muaẓam.[26] Inch was assigned to Rām Dās Kachwāhā by Akbar.[27] In 1622, Jahangir assigned it to Khāni-jahān.[28] In 1640-41, Shahjāhan gave it to Islām Khān and named the *pargāna* as Islamabad.[29] Aurangzeb assigned it to Prince Mu'azam.[30]

Village Ṣafapūr a beautiful tourist spot famous for scenic beauty of the Mānasbal lake was in the *jāgīr* of Nūrjahān Begum. In 1644-45, it was assigned to Jahān Ārā Begum.[31] One of the gardens was assigned to Dara Shukoh.[32] Village Achaval was in the *jāgīr* of Jahān Ārā Begum which was later assigned to Zebun-Nisa Begum[33] by Aurangzeb, Loka Bhawan was in the *Tayul* of Aurangzeb and later it was assigned to Muhammad Mu'azam.[34]

During 1594, and 1597, entire *ṣubah* was given to Ahamad Beg Khān, Muhammad Quli Beg, Hamza Beg, Gird Ali, Hasan Ali ʿArab, and Muhammad Beg.[35] But in 1597 their *jāgīrs* were resumed, and Kashmir was assigned to Āsaf Khān.[36]

It has been mentioned elsewhere that the *jagirs* were frequently transferred and as such it is not possible to work out the holdings of such large number of *jāgirdārs*

It is obvious that the assignees were not necessarily posted in the same province where they had their *jāgīrs*.[37] They managed their assignments through their agents and trustees.[38]

It appears that the agents did not fulfil the conditions faithfully, and as such the *jāgīrdārs* were put into great trouble.[39] Such a state of affairs compelled the *jāgīrdārs* to farm out their holdings to merchants who apparently were natives. The parties entered into a contract stipulating the conditions.[40] At the time of contract the farm merchant, technically called *mustajir* advanced some amount to the *jāgīrdār*.[41] A lumpsum was arbitrarily fixed by the parties.[42] *Mustājir* appointed his own staff to collect the revenue from the tenants. They had obviously nothing to do with the betterment of the *ryots* and did not take steps to increase or at least maintain the previous *jama*. Though the *mustajir* were supposed to advance *taqāvī* and seeds to the peasants for their own benefit,[43] which was collected at the time of harvesting including the interest.[43a]

The merchants made handsome profits although the restrictions were imposed upon them not to collect more amount than stipulated in the agreement. Since *jāgirs* were frequently transferred, therefore, the *mustajir* was not sure if he could keep the leese for the stipulated period. The *jāgirdārs* off and on frustrated the agreements and entered into new contracts with the highest bidders.[44] Keeping in view these conditions the revenue farmer appropriated as much revenue as possible.[45] It appears the revenue farming had become wide-spread during the late 17th century. A parallel administration of the intermediaries appears to have emerged out. The ultimate result was the fall in the revenue, and ruin of the villages; it was under these circumstances that Aurangzeb passed orders to discontinue the practice of revenue farming.[46] In case of non-compliance the assignments of the *jāgirdārs* were to be resumed.[47]

We can imagine the margin of the profit accumulated by the *mustajir* by going through a petition submitted to Aurangzeb by the *Ijāradars* for continuation of this system. They had advanced huge amounts and were not in a position to recover even a thousand rupees from their clients, but Aurangzeb did not yield and directed them to recollect from those to whom it was advanced.[48]

Ijāradāri was not only prevalent among the *jāgīrs*, but under the latter Mughals even *khalisa* land was farmed out though occasionally.

The river and octroi-posts were also leezed out.[49] The lesses had to execute an agreement and pay the stipulated amount monthly.[50]

This system appears to have posed so many administrative, social and economic problems; and a new class of intermediaries was created who put extra burden on the shoulders of peasantry especially The rural economy further deteriorated and a new urban middle class began to emerge.[51] The corrupt officials entered into league with the *mustajir* and they also made huge profits. Though it was expressly forbidden. No official or *muqaddam, paṭwāri* or any person connected with the land revenue was allowed to get any leese.

Ijāradāri was not only harmful to the peasantry but it effected the state exchequer as well.

GRANTS:

Land and cash grants were bestowed upon Brahmans, Muslim theologians and men of letters even before the Mughal rule.[52] During our period these grants were known as *Milk, amlāk* and *Suyūrghāl*.[53] But the term *Madadi-Ma'āsh* gained currency subsequently, *a'ima* was also used for the land grants,[54] while the cash grants were called *waẓifa*.[55] The grants given to shrines, mosques and *madrasas* were known as *waq'f*.[56]

A *farman* to this effect was issued by the emperor on the occasion of conferring this grant. Such *farmans* had almost a set text in which the rights and favours were noted down. These grants were granted by the state as well as by the *jagirdars* to the men of religion, shrines, mosques, learned persons and muslim ladies.[57] But the *jāgīrdārs'* grants were only for their own term, however, traditionally the new *jāgīrdārs* allowed them to enjoy these benefits,[58] they could not claim any kind of ownership or hereditary right. But these rights were established in 1662 by Aurangzeb.[59]

In the grant documents specific area in terms of kharwārs[60] or bighas was mentioned. The officials were directed to *Chak* and demarcate the area granted in *madadi-ma'āsh*.[61] Both the *jāgīrdār* and the officials did not allow any *a'ima* holder to cultivate any land in excess to the grant.[62]

There were some grantees who were paid in kind. But they were directed to collect the grain from specific villages and the *muzarian*,

muqaddamān, and *mutaṣadis* were also directed to release the sanctioned quantity.[63]

They were exempted from all the obligations like *Wajūhāt-u-Awārzāt*, and were not required to maintain any contingent, etc.[64]

Half of the land was granted from the culturable waste and half from the cultivated one. Sometimes whole of the grant was assigned out of culturable waste land.[65]

Subsequently, the basic nature of the grants was changed. In 5th R.Y. Shahjahan issued an order confirming hereditary rights up to 30 *bighas*; and if the grant exceeded 30 *bighas*, half of it was allowed to be retained by the heirs,[66] which was reduced to 20 *bighas* by Aurangzeb.[67] In 1691-92 the grantees were given hereditary rights.[68]

The grants assigned to shrines, mosques, tombs, etc. were administered by *mutawalis*.[69] *The income of these grants and Nazūrāt* were utilized for the maintenance of the shrines, free kitchens, and the rest was distributed among the *mujāwirān*.[70]

No rigidity or strict couformity to the observance of traditional rules was maintained in the matter of *madadi Ma'āsh* grants The piety, eminence of scholarship, the social status and economic condition of the grantees were taken into consideration.

The deserving persons put forward their representations through the *Qāẓi* and the *sad'r jzu* or provincial *Ṣadr*.[70] He submitted these applications to the *Sadru-sadur* with his endorsement. *Ṣadru-ṣadūr* presented the applications to the emperor and sanctions were granted. The grant documents were endorsed by the *Ṣadru-Sadūr* on the backside and a summary called *ẓemen* was also scribed on the backside of the document.[71]

Sometimes, the nobles, *zamindārs* and influencial people submitted applications on behalf of the ṣūfis, saints and their descendants for the sanction of such grants.[72] The ladies represented their cases through their *vakīls*.[73]

The documents were checked periodically and duly endorsed by the officials concerned.

It has been already mentioned that the revenue department was administered by *Diwān-i-Ṣubāh*, but the *maddi-Ma'āsh* grants were

supervised by the ministry of religious affairs; but *subahdār* also could confiscate the *madadi ma'āsh grants.*[74]

It is significant to note that madadi ma'āsh grants were mostly assigned in the *Sairul-Mawāzia* (villages earmarked for *khālisa* from each pargana) Nāgām, Adwin, and Kuthār.

Besides *jagirs* and grants. *Al-tamgha jagirs* were also conferred on various nobles. Such a *jagir* was for the first time granted to Malik Haidar, historian, architect of Kashmir by Jahangir sometime in 9th R.Y.[75] Another evidence regarding *Al-Tamgha* grant is confirmed by a *farmān* of Shahjahan to Asafudaula preserved in *Tarikh-i-Hasan.*[76]

On the basis of both these pieces of evidence it is obvious that *Al-tamgha* grants were permanent in nature and without any kind of obligations. These grants were almost similar to *madadi ma'āsh* grants.[77]

1. *A'in* (N.K.) I, pp. 203-4. Beveridge has translated *mal* as rent. See Chapter II, Section I, for details.
2. Ifran Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 256-7 N.A. Siddiqi *Land Revenue Administration*, pp. 77 & N, 80.
3. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 256-7; 259. N.A. Siddiqi *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, pp. 77-80.
4. In 1622, Dilawar Khān annexed Kashtawār, and Jahāngir conferred one lakh rupees, the revenue of the territory to him as *in'am* for one year only. *Tuzuk*, p. 297.
5. Akhbārāt, 12 R.Y. Rabi II., 16th Ramzān, 44 R.Y. Shābān, 46th R.Y.
6. *A'in* (Blochmann), 348-90, Documents Nos. la-b, 51, 18, 21, 27 and 5. Research and Publication Centre, K.U.
7. *A'in* (Blochmann), Vol I, pp. 348-90.
   W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 277. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 313. Abul Faz'l has provided us details about the *sayurgal* extend at the time of compilation of the *A'in* (40 R.Y.), but this column is quite blank so far as *Suba* Kashmir is concerned. It suggests that Akbar did not confer any land or cash grant during this period.
8. *Raja Tarangini*, Vol 3, tr. J.C. Dutt, p. 418.
9. *Ibid*, See Chapter II, Section I. *A'in II*, (N.K.) pp. 273-74. Add 7652, f. 297a.
10. A'in, II,(N.K.), p. 274. Add 7652, f. 247b.
11. *Ibid*,
12. *Ibid*. The total revenue was kharwārs 30603050-11.
13. *A.N., III*, p. 627. *Iqbal Nama Jahāngiri*, II, p. 429. *M.U., III*, p. 319.
14. *Khulāsatu-Siyāq*, 410/143, Subhanullah Collection, f. 32.

15. *Dastūrul ʿAmali Mulla Mohammad Amin*, f. 16
A.N., III, p. 627

16. *A'in, I*, Add. 7652. *Iqbāl Nāmā Jahāngiri*, II, f. 42b.

17. *Qazvini*, III, 268a.
Kumbu, *ʿAmali Ṣālih*, II, pp. 543-4.

18. *Halati Mamalik-i-Mahroosa*, Add. 6598, f. 199, revenue of Noushahra was 39037 dāms. It was in the *jāgir* of Dara Shukouh. It was later resumed and assigned in *jāgirs* again. *Ẓawābita ʿĀlamgiri*, or 1641, f. 156.

19. Punch was assigned to Mir Naṣrullah ʿArab in 1624-25 *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngīri, III*, p. 597. Lahori, *Badshah Namā, II, p. 432, Wariṡ, Bādshah Nāmā*, ff. 249-50.

20. See Chapter I, Section III.
A.N. III, 565; *Iqbāl Nāma, II*, 412.

21. See Chapter I, Section III.
ʿAdābi ʿĀlamgīri, f. 149a.

22. See Chapter I, Section II.

23. Faizi Sarhindi, *Akbar Nāmā*, f. 238-39a.

24. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngīri*, Vol III, p. 569.

25. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, I, (ii), p. 49; II, p. 208 Qazvini, *Bādshāh Nāmā*, III, f. 327a-b.
Kumbu, *ʿAmali Ṣālih, II, p. 331.*

26. *Kalimatu-Taybat*, f. 87.

27. *Tuzuki-Jahāngiri*, p. 313.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Lahori, *Badshah Nāma, II*, p. 209.
Kumbu, *ʿAmali Ṣālih*, II, p. 331.

30. Mohammad Kāẓim, *ʿĀlamgir Nāmā*, II, p. 836.

31. Lahori *Bādshah Nāmā II*, p. 195.
Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, III, f. 317.

32. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, III, f. 317
Ṣādiq Khān *Tārikh-i-Shahjahāni*, f. 107.

33. Kumbu, *ʿAmali Ṣālih*, II, p. 331.
(ii) Mohammad Kāzim, *ʿĀlamgiri Nāma*, II, p. 836.

34. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma, II*, p. 211.

35. *A.N., III*, p. 654, Faiẓi Sarhindi, *Akbarnāmā*, f. 222a.

36. *A.N. III*, p. 732.

37. *Waqāi-Ranthambore, Wa-Ajmir*, Transcript copy of the Department of History, AMU, Aligarh, p. 71.

38. *Ruqqāt ʿĀlamgiri*, letter No. 175 to Asad Khan.
(ii) Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 342.

39. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 339a.
Ruga'at-i-ʿĀlamgiri, letter No. 175 to Asad Khān.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India.*, p. 233.

40. *Nigār Nāma, Munshi*, Add 6599, f. 189.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 342a, 533-37
N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, pp 92-93., suggested that *Ijāra* and *Taahhud* were two different types of revenue farming. In *Taahhudi*, the former was entitled to deductions effected on account of natural calamities. He was to report the increase and decrease in the revenue to the concerned officials. The *Taahhudi* was a government official while as *Mustajir* was not a state official. But the details available in *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 342a an administrative manual of late 18th century make us infer that the *Mustājir* and *Muta'ahidi* were synonymous. See Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 278.

41. "Akhbārāt, Jamadi II, 39 R.Y." *Waqai-Ajmir-wa-Ranthumbore*, transcript copy, Department of History, AMU., Aligarh, p. 71.

42. N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, p. 92.

43. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 422-3.

43a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 340a.

44. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 422-3, 425.

45. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 285

46. "Akhbārāt, 37/38 R.Y." Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 285.

47. "Akhbārāt, Jamid, II, 39 R.Y." It appears the assignees were adamant to comply with the orders, therefore, Aurangzeb ordered to confiscate the farmed out *jāgirs*. However, it appears the orders were not executed in letter and spirit. This institution developed and attained the climax under the latter Mughals.

48. "Akhbārāt, Jamid II, 39 R.Y."

49. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 522, 532a.

50. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 532a. In case the traffic remained suspended either because of heavy snowfalls, etc. etc., the lesses were given exemption.

51. I.A. Khān, "Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire" Presidential Address, Indian History Congress 36th Session, Aligarh. See also article, C.W. Smith, "Middle Classes A Hypothesis" published in Islamic Culture, Vol 37, 1942.

52. Jona Raja, *Raja Tarangini* (tr. R.C. Dutt), pp. 87-88, Shrivara, *Raja Tarangini* (tr. R.C. Dutt), pp. 99,
209-10.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 199-200/

53. *A'in I*, (N.K.), pp. 140-1. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 208-9. Shirin Moosvi, "Suyūrghāl Statistics in *A'in*, paper read in I.H.C. Aligarh Session, 1975.

54. In all the land grant documents the term "*Madadi-Ma'āsh* has been used.

55. Research Library, Srinagar, Document No. 23.

56. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 312-3 & n.

57. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 115a.
Nishān of Jahān Ara Begam to Sheikh Qāsim, 19th R.Y. of Shahjahan, Research Library, Srinagar; Lahori *Badshah Nama*, I, pp. 332-3; Mohd Murād Teng, *Tuhfatul-Fuqāra*, f. 84a, *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir* p. 136. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 63,125-26.

58. Research Library, Srinagar, *Document No. 17*, supports our assumption. Baba Abdul Hakim, son of Baba Abdul Rashid, was granted 5 kharwārs, 8 tracks of land in *Madadi Ma'āsh. It continued to be in the possession of his successors even after 1709. See also document No. 21, Research Library, Srinagar. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 315.

59. The above cited *farmans* fully endorse our statement. The sons of Bābā Abdul Rashid retained the grant, not on the basis of the inheritence, but the labour which was put in while bringing the forest land under plough, was taken into consideration. However, in 1709 only 100 kharwārs of rice out of the produce of said grant was given to the family.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a.
The contention of N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, p. 125, and I.H. Qurashi, *The Administration of the Mughals*, p. 211, that the *Madadi Ma'āsh* grantees enjoyed all the benefits of private property. They were entitled to dispose of or leese out their farms, is not supported by the grant documents available to us. See document Nos 17,18,20,21 and 50, Research Library, Srinagar. See also Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 306.
"Sheikh Abdul Rashid, in his article, published in "Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol 9, I, 1961, pp. 98-108, supports our inference; but partially. He opins that *Madadi Ma'āsh* land grants were bequeathed, but the holders were not entitled to dispose of the land.

60. Kharwār was unit of measurement and as well as a unit of weight in Kashmir. See Chapter II, Section III.

61. Sheikh Abdul Rashid, in his article, published in "Journal of Pakistan Historical Society,".Vol 9, 1, 1961, pp. 98-108, also has the same opinion, but mentions that the grants were hereditary in nature, and more stable than the *jagirs*.

61a. Research Library Srinagar No. 21, in a land grant of one hundred kharwārs granted to Musmāti Jana Bībī and others descendants of Sheikh Abdul Hakim, the concerned officials were directed to demarcate the sanctioned area. Khārwār was both a unit of weight and measurement. See Chapter II, Section I.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 301.

62. Research Library Document No. 23, dated 16 Shawal, 1074 H. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 302.

63. Farman of Shahjahan, to Bano wife of Muhammad Muqīm in 19th R.Y. Research Library, Srinagar. *Nishan* of Jahān Āra Begum issued in favour of Sheikh Qasim, nephew of Sheikh Hamza, Research Library, Srinagar, See also No. 51 & 5.

64. Farmān of Shahjahān to Bano. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 299.

65. Research Library Srinagar Document No. 17 Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 299.

66. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 304.

67. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 531; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 306.

68. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 306.

69. Mohammad Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 84a. Research Library Document No. 20. Income of some orchards and land was reserved for some renowned muslim establishments in Mecca, and Mashhad Sharif; Muhammad Aslam Mun'ami, *Gouhari Ālam*, p. 272; I.H. Qurashi, *The Mughal Administration*, pp suggests that a *Mutawali* was appointed in each *pargana*, but it is not supported by facts. It appears that each shrine had a separate *Mutawali* who managed the *waqaf*, etc.

70a. (i) Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-Kashmir*, p. 115.
(ii) Document No. 7 Research Library, K.U.

70. Research Library, Srinagar, No. 38.

71. See the grant documents preserved in Research Library, Srinagar Nos. 1,5,7,21,18,50,41. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 298-99.

72. Research Library, Srinagar, No. 18 and 20.

73. Research Library, Srinagar No. 29. Land grants assigned to ladies were termed as *musmiyati jagirs*.

74. Nawab Saif Khan, Ṣubedar of Kashmir, at the time of *taṣhihah* "periodical scrutiny" confiscated the land grant of Muhammad Murād a descendant of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi. See document No. 51, Research Library, Srinagar.

75. Malik Haidar *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 215a.
Malik Haidar and Malik Ali had been exiled by Akbar after the annexation along with Yousf Shah Chak. At the time of the murder of Sher Afghan both Malik Ali and Malik Haidar won the sympathies of Mehrun-Nisa Begum by extending her a helping hand. Soon after her marriage with Jahangir. Malik Brothers were granted *Al Tamghā jāgīr* and *zamindāri* in the village, Chadoora. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 213a; *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 210b.

76. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 115a-b. Āsaf Khān laid out Nishāt Bāgh in Kashmir. A canal which supplied water to the garden was granted in *Altamgha*.

77. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 312.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 568a.

CHAPTER : IV
ṢUBAHDĀR AND HIS FUNCTIONS

The administrative structure of the provincial Government comprised the offices of the *Ṣubahdār, Kachēri Diwāni, Kachēri Dāroga, Bakhshi, Daftari-Istifsā, Waqīā Nawīs* and *Huzūr Nawīs*, and *Daftari-Khazāna*.

Each office was run under the supervision of an office superintendent called *Pēshkār*. He was assisted by *muharirs*. Their number varied according to the work load.

The *Kacheri* of the *Dārogah* consisted of the following officials : (1) *Dāroga, Pēshkār, Muharir-Waṣūli, Munshi Kachēri, Daftar Band* and *madadgār*, the treasury also had a large parafarnalia. It was headed by an official called *khazinedār* and *khazānichi* or *Amīn*. He was assisted by a deputy known as *Madadgāri-Khazānichi*, besides a *dāroga, musharif khazānichi* and *Pēshkār*.

ṢUBAHDĀR AND HIS FUNCTIONS :

The *Ṣubāhdar* was vice-regent of the emperor;[1] and carried on the administration of the *Ṣubah* on his behalf in accordance with the rules and regulations set forth from time to time. His appointment was made under an imperial *farman* called *farmāni ṣabti*, in which directives, and guidelines were laid down.[2] There were no hard and fast rules prescribed for the appointment or the duration of the office. No doubt the resourcefulness and capability of the probable candidates was duly considered.[3] The previous knowledge of the person about the *Ṣubah* and its affairs appears to have been taken also into consideration. In support of this proposition of a few examples may be cited. Most of the *Ṣubahdār* had served in Kashmir in one capacity or the other prior to their appointment. Mirza ʿAli Akbar was appointed *Ṣubahdār* in 1605-6.[4] He had been to Kashmir in 1592 as a commander of *Ahadi* to deal with the Yādgār episode.[5] In 1622 Hashim Khan was appointed *Ṣubahdār* of Kashmir. His father, Mohammed Qasim Khān, was formerly *Ṣubahdār* of Kashmir and Hāshim Khān accompanied him.[5a] Similarly, Saif Khān[6] was in Kashmir along with his father, Tarbiyat Khān, *Ṣubahdār* of Kashmir. Ibrāhim Khān was also in Kashmir during the governorship of his father. Innaytullah Khan, son of Ṣaif Khān had been in Kashmir for a very long time and was later appointed as *Ṣubahdār* of Kashmir.[7]

Duing the reign of Shahjahān, and Aurangzeb, we notice that the reappointments were frequent e.g. Ẓafar Khān Aḥsan was appointed by Shahjahan in August 1632 and again in the 21st regnal year, he was re-appointed by the same monarch.[8]

ʿAli Mardan Khān was appointed Ṣubahdār in the 14th regnal year and was again elevated to the same post in 31st regnal year.[9] During the reign of Augangzeb the reapointments were more frequent. Saif Khān was for the first time appointed in 7th regnal year, second time in 13th regnal year, while Ibrāḥim Khān was appointed firstly in 4th regnal year, second time in 21R.Y., third time in 45 R.Y. and fourth time in 1709.[10] Nawāzish Khān was given charge of the *Ṣubah* for the first time in 1707, second time in 1709,[11] while Ināyatullah Khān remained in the office from 1711-12, second term during 1712-13, third term from 1717 to 1720, fourth term from 1724 to 25.[12]

Normally, the duration of the office did not exceed three to four years,[13] During 1586-1707, 35 governors were appointed for a period of 122 years; holding the post for an average of 3-1/3 years.[14] However, some of the *Subahdars* remained in the office for a period of one or two years, while some of them remained in the office for more than seven years. I'taqad Khan was appointed in 1622 and retained the office until 1632.[15] ʿAli Mardān Khān was *Subahdar* for 11 years; Ibrāhim Khān held the post for 13 years (8 and 5); Ẓafar Khān remained in office for 7 years.

In the matter of appointment the racial factor seems to have been of little consequence though on an analysis it may be inferred that the *Irānis* were predominant, followed by *Tūrānis*. Only one Indian Muslim, Hafizullah Khān was conferred the job, and no non-Muslim was ever elevated to this office. Out of 35 *Ṣubahdārs*, 23 were *Iranis* and only 12 *Turanis*. It is also peculiar to note that *Ṣubahdāri* of Kashmir was never assigned to any prince except Murad, he too was removed within one year,[16] while the *Ṣubahdāri* of other provinces was frequently assigned to the princes.[17]

During the absence of the *Ṣubahdār*, his duty was performed by his *Nāib*,[18] who was nominated by the *Ṣubahdār* himself subject to the imperial confirmation. From 1586 to 1707, the *Ṣuhahdārs* remained mostly in the *Ṣubah*, while after 1707, they mostly stayed outside and occasionally visited the province of their posting.[19]

During brief durations of absence of the *Subahdārs*, *Dīwān* or *Ṣad'r* was given charge of the *Ṣubah*, while for longer periods a separate *manṣabdār* was given the charge.[20] The absence of the *ṣubahdār* and the rule by proxy led to the deterioration of the economy and administration, to which a crushing blow was given by the Afghans in 1752.[21]

At the time of appointment enormous presents were offered to the emperor, and the same process was repeated at the time of transfers and promotions. Costly gifts worth lakhs of rupees and comprising rarities of Kashmir were presented on such an occasion to the emperor.[22] Dresses of honour, and gifts of scimtars and swords were bestowed upon *Ṣubahdār* designate.[23]

At the time of his arrival in Kashmir, *manṣabdārs*, state officials, *zamindārs*, and respectable persons welcomed the *Ṣubahdār*. Saif K̲h̲ān, Ibrāḥim K̲h̲ān, and 'Ali Mardān K̲h̲ān, directed the above mentioned officials and others to accord their warm welcome at Herapura.[24] Saif K̲h̲ān was very keen about their presence. Subsequently, it became a convention, and every incumbent was warmly received.[25] The *Ṣubahdārs* on their part rewarded the nobles and men of learning.[25a]

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES

As an administrative and executive head, the *Ṣubahdār* looked after all branches of revenue, police, military affairs, judiciary and general administration.[26] The Mughal emperor paid periodical visits to the *Ṣubah*. The *Ṣubahdār* used to receive the emperor at the outskirts of the *Ṣubah*, and at the time of departure accompanied him as for as the border of the Ṣubah to give him a befitting send-off.[27] He remained in the camp throughout the stay of the emperor and arranged food, fodder and transport facilities for the imperial camp. The roads, and inns were superbly equipped to meet the requirements of the emperor's comfort during the travel.[28] Feasts, festivities, illuminations and *jashns* were arranged.[29]

Under the Sultans the kingdom of Kashmir in its heydays comprised the Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Punch, Pakhli, Kashtawar, Rajouri ana adjacent smaller principalities.[30] Subsequently, such far off regions fell apart from the Centre, but soon after the annexation of Kashmir in 1586, the Mughals followed an expansionist policy in all

directions. These expeditions were expedited and commanded by the *Ṣubahdārs*;[31] *occasionally helped and reinforced by the Subahdārs* of contiguous provinces.[32]

On the internal front the refractory *zamindārs*, and rebels were suppressed with a heavy hand; every step was taken to maintain law and order by the *Ṣubahdārs*.[33]

The outposts were fully garrisoned with the soldiers and supervised by the *Ṣubahdār*.[34] The forts of Rajouri Noushahra,[35] Bijbehara,[36] and Tibet Khurd[37] were left in the charge of *thanedars*, who were under the direct control of the *Ṣubahdārs*.[38] Apparently, the *Subahdār* of Kashmir used to be the *Qilaʿdār* of a Srinagar fort also.[39] It has been already pointed out that there was not separate post of Provincial *Foujdār* in Kashmir. The *Ṣubahdār* was in charge of military and police administration also. We can suggest that the *Foujdārs* of Marāz, Kamrāz, Punch, Pakhli and Noushahra, were his subordinates. The *Foujdāri* of Noushahra, and Chakla Jammu was sometimes assigned to the *Ṣubahdār*.[40] He supervised the troops of the *manṣabdārs* stationed in the *Ṣubah*.[41] He used to rush contingents to the war-front whenever he received emperor's command to do so.[42]

Thus the maintenance of peace both internal and external and the efficient running of the provincial administrative machinery was the prime responsibility of the *Ṣubahdār*.

The annual collection of the *pēshkash* from the autonomous chieftains and *zamindārs* was carried on by the *Ṣubahdār* and it was deposited in the provincial treasury.[43] The autonomous chieftains attended his Court very often and kept their respective *vakils* at the provincial Court.[44]

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE :

As a matter of fact there was a separate department for the administration of justice, but the *Ṣubahdār* also held regular Courts and discharged the judicial functions.[45] Criminal and civil cases of complicated nature were mainly lodged in his Court. The cases pertaining to *Sabi-Ṣuhāba* were also mainly filed in his Court, but the decisions in such cases were given by the *Qāzi* and the *Muftī*.[46]

In 1665 Sheikh Abdul Rashid filed a suit against Hussain Malik brother of Malik Haidar Chādoora in the Court of the *Ṣubahdār*.[47] Another suit was filed in the Court of Saif Khān by a Hindu against Khawāja. Ṣādiq Naqashbandi. After a summary trial the khawaja was flagged to death.[48] Another case against Abdu Shekoor was also filed in the Court of Ibrāhīm Khān. He was alleged to have used indecent words against the Caliphs.[49] One more case about a mosque of a village Ārwaṭ was also filed in the Court of Ibrāhim Khān.[50]

Ṣubahdār was not entitled to overrule the decision of the *Qāzi*. In the case of Abdul Rashid cited above, the *Ṣubahdār* wanted to save Malik Husain, but the decision of the *Qāzi* was executed under the directions of the Emperor;[51] again one *Rusṭum* Māntoo of Soibugh village was executed even against the consent of the *Ṣubahdār*.[52]

However, the more enterprising and influential *Ṣubahdārs* encroached upon the power and authority of other officials by reducing the *Ṣad'r*, the *Qāzi*, the *Mufti*, and the *Kotwāl* to mere non-entities.[53] I'tamad Khan who was *Subahdar* during 1661-62, and Fāẓil Khān were strict and impartial in the dispensation of justice. They decided cases daily after summary trails and enquiries.[54]

SOCIAL SERVICE:

Existing concepts of social service and government departments apart, there was sufficient scope for works of public weal and common welfare in Mughal Kashmir, particularly under the stewardship of the *Subahdar*. The relief measures in the event of natural calamities like floods, famines, droughts, earthquakes, fires, and epidemics, were launched under the supervision of *Ṣubahdārs*. In support of our statement we can advance a few significant evidences too. In 1597, a terrible famine spread all over the *Ṣubah*.[55] Akbar directed the *Subahdār* to open a large number of *langars i.e.* free kitchens. In 1635-36, a heavy flood innundated the entire rice fields in the months of July and August. With the result entire crop was damaged and thousands of people left Kashmir.[56] Huge amounts were released by the Emperor to the Ṣubahdār for relief measures.[57] Tarbiyat Khān did not discharge his duty efficiently while making disbursement of the relief funds. He was removed and Ẓafar Khān was appointed in his place.[58] He supervised the work in person and demanded additional grant of one lakh of rupees for the distribution among the peasants and to expedite the agricultural operations.[59]

In 1675, thousands of houses along with Jamiā Masjid were gutted by the outbreak of a sudden fire. The *Ṣubahdār* was directed to advance one hundred rupees to each affected family.[60]

SUBAHDĀR AND LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION :

In Chapter II, Section III, we discussed the functioning of the land levenue organisation. The *Dīwān* was the head of the revenue and finance departments.[61] But the *madadi ma'āsh* grants were administered by the *Sad'r.*,[62] the *Subahdār* as a matter of fact was a coordinator of various administrative divisions.

In regard to the position of the *Ṣubahdār* viz-a-viz the *Diwān*, Jadunath Sarkār held the view that the *Dīwān* was in no way a subordinate official but a rival of the *Ṣubahdār.*[63] But a closer examination of the source material suggests a different inference. Undoubtedly the *Dīwān* was the head of revenue department but not a rival of *Ṣubahdār* and held a position next to the *Ṣubahdār* in the administrative heirarchy.[64] To quote a few instances based on original sources, would lead us to same conclusion. It is significant to note that a *Dīwān* was appointed as *Nāibi-i-Ṣubahadār* but not vice verca.[65] Secondly, the *manṣab* of any *Diwān* did not exceed the *manṣab* of a *Ṣubahdār.* Thirdly, various reports and statements were submitted from the Court of *Dīwān* to the Court of the *Ṣubahdār.*[66] The Jāgirdārs and grand-holders presented their documents to the *Ṣubahdār* and the *Ṣubahdār* periodically checked and verified the *sanads.*[67] He recommended for further increase of the *manṣab,* decreas or cancellation of the grants and *Jāgirs* while we do not find such powers vested in the *Dīwān.* He was to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue, take care to get more and more land under the plough, Dilāwar Khan ʿAli Mardān Khān, Saif Khān and Fāẓil Khān took vigorous steps to improve the agrarian conditions.[68]

Thus a *Ṣubahdār* had a supervisory control over land revenue administration as well.

As an administrative head, *Ṣubahdār* recommended and very often effected the appointments, promotions, transfers, within the *Ṣubah* and even the demotion and imprisonment of various petty officials.[69] He appointed the clerical staff in *parganas* or delegated his powers to the *ʿāmils.*[70] At the time of promotions the experience and seniority of the officials was also kept in view,[71] and no weightage was

given to racial or communal considerations. Almost entire the revenue and finance department was manned by the Hindūs. The prestigeous posts of *Pēshkars* and *Chaudharis* were filled up by this community. Ṭoṭa Rām,[72] Mahadev Koul,[73] Sudharshan pandith[74] and Choudhuri Mahēsh[75] were some of the famous officials of this category. Thus the multifarious duties and responsibilities of the *Ṣubahdār* may be fairly and elaborately detailed by a perusal of the papers and registeres maintained by his Court and statements furnished by the lower offices. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr,* an administrative mannual of 18th century gives us a detailed account of such documents.[76] The following papers and documents were submitted to his office :[77]

1. Pargana-wise annual schedule of *Hāl-i-Hāṣil* by the *Dīwān*, (2) the pay schedule of the clerks, and accountants, descriptive rolls of the *manṣabadārs* stating transfers, promotions, and assignments from the *Bak͟hshi,* (3) the descriptive rolls regarding the grants, the periodical checking reports, new grant documents, and cancellation of previous grants from the office of the provincial *Ṣad'r,*[78] (4) the descriptive roll of *zamindārs* from the clerk incharge of *zamindārs* bearing the seal of *dārogha kachēri,* (5) the lists giving the details of income and expenditure regarding the state-owned kark͟hānas from the office of *Dīwāni Boyūtāt,* (6) the annual report furnishing the details about the income from *Mahāl Mīr Baḥarī,* (7) income statements of *Mahāli Dāmdāri,*[79] and *Mahāl Par-i-Kulang*[80] from the *pargana Qānūngo, (9) the income and expenditure statements of the mint from Musharif-i-Dar'ulẓarb,* (10) statement pertaining to jwellery market from the *Dāroga Bāzār,* (11) the *Hāli Hāṣil* figures, of Saffron with the remarks regarding the cause of decrease in production if any from the *musharfi,* (12) *Hāl-i-Haṣil* figures of *mahāl Singhāra,* (13) the rate lists of grains, vegetables and other articles from the office of the *Nirak͟h-Nawīs,* (14) information regarding the functioning of various courts from the *musharif,* (15) *Haqiqat Hāl-i-Hāṣil* of *In'ām* and *mashroot* land grants (16) the descriptive roll of the troopers and horses maintaned by the *manṣabdārs* of the *Ṣubah.* (17) *pargana*-wise statistical information of the *Jam'a dāmi* of *jāgīrs,* khalisa, and the *pāibāqi* lands, (18) the expenditure acrued on *Nalujāt* submitted to the centre, (19) the demand list of *manṣabdārs,* (20) monthly collection and disbursement of revenue pargana wise from

the office of *Dīwān*.[81] He looked after the administration of the river ports, state *kārkhāns*, mines, mints, markets, and such other things.

Keeping in view the wide range of the above mentioned statements and papers, we can Safety infer that the *Ṣubahdār* controlled the executive, revenue, judicial, police and military administration as falling within his jurisdiction. He was to safeguard the interests of the state as well as of the subjects.

LIMITATIONS TO THE ṢUBAHDAR'S AUTHORITY AND IMPERIAL CHECKS :

We have mentioned above that the *Ṣubahdār* was governed by the rules and regulations set forth from time to time by the centre and did not enjoy unlimited power as is the contention of Vincent Smith.[82] The *ṣubahdārs* were guided by certain norms and principles.[82 a] The Ṣubah of Kashmir remained cut off from the rest of the Empire during winter-months, and as such a *Ṣubahdār* could have wielded unlimited power, but this was not the case. The maintenance of law and order internally was his prime duty, but he could not wage war, enter into a treaty or sue for peace without the imperial directive.[83] In September, 1637, Ẓafar Khān subdued Little Tibet, and installed Muhammed Murād, the vakil of Abdāl in has place. This act of audacity on the part of the *Subahdar* was resented to by Shahjahān, and the *Ṣubahdār* was reprimanded.[84] In A.D. 1672, the *Ṣubahdār* sought the permission from Aurangzeb to use force against the raja of Kashtawār who was reluctant to pay the annual *pēshkash*.[85]

A net work of imperial spies, *Sawānih Nigārs*, *Khufiya Nawīs* and *Harkars* kept a close watch on the movements of the Subah officials.[86] Even minutest and trival matters were reported to the Court. Ibrahim Khān[87] Ṣaif Khān,[88] and Tarbiyat Khān[89] were sacked on the basis of the reports submitted by the *Khufiya Nawis*.

The periodical visits of the emperors provided ample opportunities to people to approach them to get their grievances redressed.[89] We should keep this in mind that the nobles and *mansab* holders owed allegiance to the emperors and as such were a natural check to the *Ṣubahdārs*. During 1587-88, one Ṭoṭa Ram lodged a complaint against Yousf Khān Rizvi in persuance of which Qāzi Ali was appointed to investigate into the embezzlement case.[90] Similarly Malik

'Ali and Malik Haidar, were always a threat to the *Ṣubahdārs*.[91] Dilawar Khān, Ṣafdar Khān and Ahamad Beg Khān were transferred by Jahangir, because of complaints against them.[92] I'taqād Khān and Tarbiyat Khān were removed by Shahjahān, and Ibrāhim Khān, Saif Khān, Muẓafar Khān, and Abū Naṣar Khān were transferred by Aurangzeb on the basis of complaints filed by the people.

In spite of checks and controls, some of the *Subahdārs* were to a greater entent oppressive and harsh.[93] I'taqād Khān imposed taxes on orchards, levied 60 dams on each village which yielded a revenue of 400 kharwārs or more, and an oppressive tax on boatmen was also enhanced by him,[94] but in 1632 Shahjahan remitted all these taxes.

Abū Naṣar Khān, and his brother, Muẓafar Khān imposed again several taxes on agriculturists, common people, and artisans.[95] They corrupted even the secret writers. The *Khufiya Nawīs* also tried to squeeze the common people. During the period of the later Mughals, the Nāib *Ṣubahdārs* also followed suit. It is significant that this state of affairs manifested itself only when the Central authority was on the decline and weakness and instability were rampant in the body-politic. From 1622 till the death of Jahāngir, Nūr Jahān's power had tremendously increased over the affairs of the empire, and there was none to check the atrocites of I'taqād Khān who was a close relative of Nur Jahan.[96] Similarly, Aurangzeb's presence in the Deccan adversely affected the administrative machinery in the North which roused the venality and corruption of the *Ṣubahdārs*.

1. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 450b, 451a-b.
   A.' in, II, pp. 223-25.
   Diwan Pasand, p. 30621; f. 86
2. *Diwan Pasand*, p. 30621, f. 86
   p. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 176
3. Nigār Nama Munshī, f. 20
   Dastūrul-'Amali Shahjahāni, 653/71,
   Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU.,
   Aligarh, f. 180.
4. Mirza Ali Beg was resident of Badakhshān. He came to India and was given a *mansab* of 500 *A'in, I*, 163 (N.K.), Kewal Ram, *Tazkiratul-'Umarā*, f. 194. In 46 R.Y. he was given a *manṣab* of 2000, and in 1605-6, Jahangir raised his *manṣab* to 4000, *Tuzuk*, II, and appointed him *Ṣubahdār* of Kashmir in 1015/1605, *Tuzuk*, p. 35 Kewal Rām *Tazkiratul—'Umarā*, f. 194,

Ma'āsirul-Umarā, III, pp. 355-56. He died in 1616, Bahāristāni-Shāhi, ff. 207a-3b. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 118. Tārikh-i-Hashmat-i-Kashmir, f. 47, and Gouhar-i-ʿĀlam, p. 253, have wrongly mentioned his date of Appointment 1013H/1604-5, and according to Muhammad Murād Teng, *Tuhfatul Fuqarā*, f. 77a, 1014/1605-6. *Iqbāl Nama Jahāngiri*, III, p. 516.

5. See Chapter I, Section I.

5a. *Tuzuk*, p. 97.

6. Saif-ud-Din Mahmūd alias Faqirullah was son of Tarbiyat Khān, *Ma'asirul Umarā, I*, pp. 486-87. In his 30th regnal year, Shahjahan appointed him Superintendent of *Qūr-Khānā* with the rank of 700/100, On account of his role against Maharaja Jaswant Singh, Aurangzeb raised his *manṣab* to 1500/700 and granted him the title of Saif-Khān. In June, 1661, he was appointed *Subahdar* of Kashmir, Muhammad Kāzim, *Ālamgir Nama*, p. 832. In the 9th regnal year, he was appointed *Ṣubahdār* of Multan, in 14th, R.Y. again appointed *Subahdar* of Kashmir. During his visit in 1663-4, he was rewarded for having defeated Murad Khan of Askardu, *Tarikh-i-Ālamgīri*, ff. 53-54. *Ma'asir-i-ʿĀlamgiri*, (Sarkar's Translation), p. 34. *Ma'asirul Umara*, II, p. 482. For details of his biography, see *Ma'asirul Umara*, II, pp. 479-485.

7. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 211.*

8. *Lahori, Badshah Nama*, I, p. 432.
Ẓafar Khān Ahsan was son of Abul Hasan; in 1632 Abul Hasan was appointed *Ṣubahdār* of Kashmir, Lahori, *Badshāh, Nāmā I*, p. 432, and Ẓafar Khān acted as his *Nāib*. After his death, he was appointed *Ṣubahdār* of Kashmir in March 1633. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, I, p. 474. In 1642, he was again appointed replacing Tarbiyat Khān, *Bādshah Nāmā, II*, pp. 282-3. His *manṣab* was increased to 3000/1500, *Ma'asirul-Umarā*, II, p. 763, but he was removed in 1645 from *Ṣubahdāri* because of his unjust attitude towards Sunnis, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, p. 191, for his detailed biography, see *Ma'āsirul-Umara*, II, pp. 756-763.

9. ʿAli Mardan Khan was son of Ganj ʿAli Khān an old servant of Shah Abbās I. After the death of his father, he was given the title of Baba-Sani and appointed him governor of Qandahar. After the death of Shah Abbās II, Shah Safi did not favour the nobles of Shah Abbas. Ali Mardan Khan approached Shahjahan and surrendered the fort to him, *Ma'asirul-Umara*, II, pp. 795-806. In absentia he was granted a mansab of 5000/z.s. in April, 1639 as a token of reward, Kumbu, ʿAmali Ṣālih, II, p. 289. Meanwhile, he proceded to Lahore, and Mu'tamad Khān, Mir Bakhshi and Tarbiyat Khān delivered him to the Court. The same year as a token of reward, Kashmir, was assigned to him, and Ẓafar Khān was transferred, Kambu, *ʿAmali Ṣālih*, II, p. 298, *Dastūral-Amali Shahjahāni*, 673/51, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, ff. 180-3. In October 1640, his *manṣab* was further increased to 7000/7000 and Punjab was also assigned to him. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p 163. In 1641, he was given 7000/7000 out of it 3000x2hx3 horse. In March 1655, he was again appointed as a *Ṣubahdār* of Kashmir, and held the post for seven years, *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 140-1.

10. Supra f.n. 6.

11. Nawāzish Khān Mukhtār Beg, son of Islām Khān Roomi was given a mansab of 1000 in 19 R.Y. by Aurangzeb, and in 24th he was given the title of Nawāzish Khān and raised to the Foujdari of Mandou in 24th R.Y. in 49 R.Y. hise manṣab was increased to 1000, Kewal Rām, *Tazkirat-ul-Umara*, f. 163, *Ma'āsirul-Umara*, I, pp. 246-47.

12. *Ma'āsirul Umarā*, II, pp. 828-32, for his detailed life history.

13. *Gouhari Ālam*, p. 269. p. Saran, *Provincial Government under the Mughals*, p. 177

14. See Appendix '8'.

15. I'taqād Khān was son of I'tamad-ud-Duala. He was appointed *Şubahdār* of Kashmir in 17th R.Y. *Tuzuk*, p. 348; *Iqbāl Nama Jahāngiri, III*, p. 580, and remained in the office till August 1632, Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 432. R.K. Parmu is incorrect in putting his date of transfer 1634, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 303n. He won the bad name in Kashmir for imposing oppressive tax on the peasants, orchard owners and even boatmen. See Inscription on the gate Jamia, Masjid, Srinagar, *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 125; *Gouhari Ālam*, p. 261.

16. Murād Bakhash was appointed in 1647 and transferred in February, 1648. Wāriṣ, *Bādshah Nāmā*, I, f. 6, *Tārikh-i-Shahjāhāni*, f. 149a. Author of *Gouhari Ālam*, f. 289, has wrongly mentioned the date of his appointment 1051H/1641-42. See also Dr. M. Athar Ali's article, "Provincial Governors under Shahjahan", pp. 80-92, Medieval India-A. Miscellany, III, p. 86., and Mohammad Murād, Tuhfatul F'uqarā, f. 81a-b.

17. Dr M. Athar Ali, 'Provincial Governors under Shahjahan' Medieval India-A Miscellancy, III, pp. 80-92.

18. Ibid.
See also Appendix 'B'.

19. R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 399-400.

20. See Chapter II, Section III.
Ali Mardan was appointed *Şubahdār* of Kashmir and Kabul. He designated Abdul Gani Beg, one of his relatives, as *Nāib-i-Şubah*,
During 1707 to 1752, every *Şubahdār* nominated his deputy, who carried on the administration on behalf of the *Subahdar*. See R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule, etc.* pp. 333-338.
I.H. Qurashi is not correct in his statement that the provincial governorship was assigned to *Nāib* only in case the Prince was a minor, Mughal Administration, etc. pp. 228-29.
During the period 1709 to 1752, more than 25 *Nāibs* were appointed while the number of *Şubahdārs* did not exceed 20. See Appendix 'B'.

21. Birbal Kachroo, *Majmu-ut-Tawārikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 195a-b.

22. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I, pp. 229, 448; II, pp. 163, 165,48.

23. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I, pp, 432; *II*, pp. 130, 133, 223, 149, 415, 420.
Kumbu, *'Amali Şālih*, II, p. 457
Wariș, *Bādshah Nāmā*, *I*, f. 138; II, ff. 292, 327.
Muhammed Kāzim, *'Ālamgirnāmā*, 832, 965.
Adābi-Alamgiri, f. 247b.

24. Muhammed Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 87b.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 164.
Gouhari 'Alam, p. 286.
Ameerud Din, Pakhliwal, *Tahqeeqat-i-Ameeri*,, f. 169a.

25. *Rug'āt, Acc. No 2776, f. 15. (Research Library, Srinagar).*

25a. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 453a.

26. *Hidāyatul Qawā'id*, f. 42a.
Dīwān Pasand, ff. 85-7.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 536-37a.
Hālāt-i-Momālik-i-Mahrūsa, ff. 144-6.

27. *A.N., III*, p. 564, *Tuzuk*, p. 294.
Iqbāl Nama, III, p. 580.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, pp. 17, 191.
Tarikh-i-ʿĀlamgiri, ff. 53a-54b.

28. Faizi, *Akbar Namā*; f. 242a.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, pp. 20,419.
Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 140-41.
Birbal Kachroo, Majmu-ut-Tawārikh, f. 147b.
Bernier, *Travels in Mughal India*, p. 395.

29. Sadiq Khān, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahan-wa-ʿĀlamgiri*, p. 131b.

30. See Chapter I, Section II.

31. Ibid.
Gouhari ʿĀlam, pp. 294-99.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 93.

32. During the Tibet compaign a contingent from Kabul was diverted to Kashmir, *A.N., III*, p. 823. Similarly, Mohamad Amin Khān, *Subahdār* of Lahore, was directed to arrest the chieftain of Kashtawar in case he was reluctant to pay the tribute, "Akhbārāt 13th R.Y." See also "Akhbārāt 46 R.Y."

33. *Bahāristan-i-Shahi*, f. 205a.
Iqbal Nama, Vol II, p. 452
"Akhbārāt 46th R.Y."
Wāqiʿāti-Kashmir, p. 218
J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 52
S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Government & Administration*, P. 239.

34. Faizi, *Akbar Nāmā*, ff. 238b-39a, *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
Hashmatullah, Khan, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 613.
Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, pp. 685-6.

35. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
Kumbu, *ʿAmali Sālih*, II, p. 15.
Inshāi Har Karan, f. 17
Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 613.
Insha Collection, Acc. No 2675, ff. 28-29.
Research Library, Srinagar.

36. Faizi, *Akbar, Nāma*, ff. 238-b-39a.
Desidari, *Travels (tr. Fillipo di Fillipi)*, p. 75.

37. *Hashmatullah Khān, Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 613.

38. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.

39. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 52n.
Mohammad Din Fouq, *Safar Nāma Kashmir*, p. 64.

40. *Raja Darshani*, f. 185.
Ṣafdar Khān was appointed Fōujdār of Jammu also by Jahāngir. Hafizullah Khān was appointed also *Foujdār* of Jammu, "AKhbārāt, 33 R.Y."
Ruga'āt, a collection of letters of the reign of Aurangzeb preserved in S.P.S Museum, Srinagar, f. 45a.

41. "Akhbārāt, 43 and 47 R.Y."
Wāqiāt-i-Asad Bēgī, f. 7a.
S.R. Sharma, *Mughal, Government & Administration*, p. 238.
P. Saran, *Provincial Administration*, p. 187.

42. Mohamad Ṣādiq, *Tārikh-i-Shahjahāni-wa-Ālamgiri*, f. 197b.
Wāqiāt-i-Asad Bēgi, f. 7a.
S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Government & Administration, p. 238.*

43. *"Akhbārāt, Muharam, 13th R.Y."*
J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 52.
S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government & Administration, p. 239.

44. *"Akhbārāt, 12 Rabi I, 43 R.Y.," Rajab 46th R.Y.*

45. *Lahori Badshah Nama*, I, p. 139.
Muhammad Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 85b, 91a.
S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government & Administration, p. 239.
P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 185.*
Gouhari-Ālam, pp. 269, 284,
The statement of I.H. Qurashi that the Governor was not allowed to intervene in the administration of justice is not born out by facts; *The Administration of Mughal Empire in India*, p. 229.

46. Muhammad Murād Tang, *Tuhfatul-fuqarā*, ff. 91-2.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 165.

47. Muhammad Murād Tang, *Tuhfatul-fuqarā*, ff. 91-2.

48. Muhammad Murād Tang, *Tuhfatul-fuqarā*, f. 87b.
Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 286-7.

49. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 291-2.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.

50. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 284-5.

51. Mohammad Murād Tang, *Tuhfatul, Fuqarā;* ff. 63b, 88b.
Gouhari Ālam, pp. 287-8.

52. Mohammad Murad Tang, *Tuhfatul, Fuqara ;* ff. 98-98b.
Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 284.

53. *Gouhar-i-Kashmir*, p. 284
Mohammad Murad Tang, *Tuhfatul, Fuqarā*; f. 85b.

54. *Gouhar-i-Ālam* p. 284.
J.Xavier,, letter translated by Hostan in J.A.S.B. Vol 23 (N.S.) 1927," pp. 115-16.

55. *A.N. III*, p. 727. *Iqbāl Nama, II*, pp. 453-4. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 166.

56. Lahori, *Badshah Nāmā*, II, pp. 309-10. Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih, II*, 328-29. Sadiq Khān, *Tārikh-i-Shahjahani-wa-ʿĀlamgiri*, f. 53a. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 140.

57. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, pp. 309-10
Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 140.
Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 360.

58. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, pp. 282-3.
Mohamad Murād Tang, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 81b.

59. Lahori, *Bādshsh Nāma*, II, pp. 309-10.

60. Khalil Mirjanpūri, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 106b.

61. See Chapter II, Section III,
See P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 189*

62. *Ṣee Chapter II, Section IV.*

63. *Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration*, p. 53.

64. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 53.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 190-91

65. P. Saran observes that the *Ṣubahdār* and *Diwān* were official of equal rank and very rarely a *Diwān* was appointed as a *Ṣubahdār*, p. 182, but on pages 195-96, he states that *Diwān* was not equal to the status of *Ṣubahdār* but inferior to him. *Provincial Administration under the Mughals*, pp. 181-82; *Gouhar-i-Alam*, p. 299.

66. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 537a-b.
Hālāt-i-Mamālik-i-Mahrūsa, ff. 144-45.

67. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 164.
Various land grant documents preserved in the Research Library, Srinagar, and S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, bear the seals of the *Subahdars*.
See also Chapter II, Section IV.

68. "Akhbārāt, 44 Regnal Year."
Dīwān Pasand, f. 92.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 307b-8a
Gouhar-i-ʿĀlam, pp. 271, 289,
Muhammad Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 81, 87.
Ameeruddin, Pakhliwal, *Tahqeeqat-i-Ameeri*, f. 169a;
Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 164.
Abdul Qādir Jaisi, *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, ff. 51a-b.
Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 52.

69. "Akhbārat, Rabi I, 43 and 46 R.Y."
Fāzil Khān's recommendations for the grant of *mansabs to Kashmiris, See*
"Akhbārāt, Rab. I, 43 R.Y."
Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 49

70. Muhammad Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 99a.
Diwān Pasand, ff. 86-92.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government under the Mughals*, p. 178.

71. *Diwān Pasand*, f. 92.

72. Ṭoṭa Rām was *Peshkar* of Yousf Khān Rizvi
A.K., III, pp. 617-18.

73. Mahadev Koul was *Peshkār* of 'Ali Mardān Khān.
He was burnt alive during a food riot. On this occasion, Muhammad Yousf Kāwoosa *Ṣad'r Ṣuba* Kashmir and other nobles were summoned to Court to explain their position.

74. Sudharshan Pandit was *Peshkār* of 'Anayatullah Khān.

75. Choudhari Mahēsh was *Choudhari Kul* during the reign of Aurangzeb.
Birbal Kachroo, *Majmu-ut-Tawārikh*, f. 417a
Document No 31, Research Library, Srinagar.
See also Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 401-3.

76. Nath Panditt, *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 536a-37b.
See also *Halat-i-Mamālik-i-Mahrūsa*, ff. 144-45.

77. *Gulshan-i-Datūr*, f. 536a.

78. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 536b.

79. Kashmiri fowlers earned a great deal of money from bird catching especially during the winter months.
A tax was imposed on them, A'in, II, p. 175.

80. The coloured feathers of okar and other birds were collected from the bird sancturies of Matal Hāmā and were purchased by the state for decoration of headgears and imperial standards. Mainly feathers of cranes and fowls were collected. *A'in, II*, p. 174 (N.K.). Approximately 10700 feathers were collected annually. **Tuzuk**, p. 315. This village is not identified. It should be perhaps Hokar Sar, which is still famous for duck shooting.

81. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 536b.

82. V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogol*, p. 380.
See for a contrary viewpoint, Forster, *From Bengal to India by Sea*, II, p. 26.

82a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 34a.

83. P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 188.
S.R. Sharma contradicts his own statement that "He put down local rebellions, carried out minor military operations on his own in the provinces or the neighbouring areas." In this very passage that "He could not make war on a feudatory state in the province or an independent prince in the neighbourhood without the premission of the Emperor." *Mughal Government and Provincial Administration*, p. 239.

84. Lahori, *Bādshahnāmā, II*, p. 286.
R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 316. has wrongly mentioned the date of conquest 1632 Lahori, *Bādshsh Nāma*, II, p. 286.
Kumbu, *'Amal-i-Ṣālih*, III p. 262.

85. "Akhbārāt, Muḥaram, 13th R.Y."

86. *Ruqāt-i-'Ālamgiri*, 655. Sulaiman Collection, AMU, f. 127a.
Ruqā'-i-'Ālamgiri, p. 31 "letter No 116", ed. M.A. Rahman, Kanpur.
Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 287-8, 293, "Akhbārāt, 45 R.Y. 'Anāyat Khan. *Ahkāmi-'Ālamgiri*, p. 211.

87. Ṣādiq Khān, *Tārikh-i-Shahjahāni*, i. 45b.

88. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 116
Abdul Qādir Jaisi, *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 51a.
Ṣādiq Khān, *Tarikh-i-Shāhjahāni*, f. 98a.
Kumbu, *ʿAmli-i-Ṣālih*, II, pp. 360-61
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 140.

89. *Tuzuk*, p. 149.
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 211b.

90. *A.N. III*, 617-18.

91. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 215a.

92. Tuzuk, p. 149.
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 212a.
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 215a, 216b, 217a.

93. Suka, *Raja Tarangini, (tr. R.C. Dutt), p. 424. states the atrocities of the servants of* Yousf Khān Rizvi done to the common people. Mirza ʿAli Akbar Shāhī during his *Subahdāri* was not less oppressive, *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 211b.
ʿAli Mardān Khān himself was an ideal *Ṣubahdār* but his Uzbek and *Tūrāni* servants *were very cruel and behaved just like brutes, Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 141.
Gouhari-Ālam, p. 273.

94. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nama, II*, ff. 267-68.
See "the inscription on the gate of Jamiaʿ 'Masjid, Srinagar."

95. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 189.

96. Beni Prasad. *History of Jahangir*, pp. 171-84.
For the political power of Nūr Jahān after 1622. see Nūr Jahān and Junta, S. Nūral Hasan, "Cyclostyled article in the Research Library, Department of History, AMU., Aligarh."
For details on Kashmir under the later Mughals, see article of Dr. Z.U. Malik, "The Ṣubah of Kashmir under the later Mughals, Miscellany, Vol II, pp. 249-263.
For a general study of the period, see Irwin Later Mughals and J.N. Sarkar, *Downfall of the Mughal Empire*,also.

Note : List of Subahdars on Appendix I

CHAPTER : V

JUDICIAL AND POLICE ADMINISTRATION

JUDICIARY

The Mughal annexation of Kashmir ushered in significant changes in the various spheres of the administrative set up of the *Ṣubah* but the judicial administration was retained sustantially on the traditional lines. As a matter of fact, the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir, had practically paved the way for the introduction of Islamic Institutions like *Shaikhul-Islām, Qāẓi, Mīr'adl* and the like long before the Mughal conquest.[1] But it was during the Mughal period that institution of the *Shaikhul-Islām* lost its significance and its place was taken by the provincial *Qāẓi*.[2]

Before 1586, the *Qāẓiul-Quzāt appointed the Qāẓis* of the *parganas* and towns. *Mir-a'dl* was appointed in Srinagar, the capital city, and he functioned as a semi- judicial officer and a deputy of the *Qāẓi-ul-Quẓāt*.[3]

The bulk of population were followers of the *Hanafia* school and were governed by its laws.[4]

The Mughal annexation, virtually did not effect the working of the system. As a matter of fact, the governing principles were of the same *shariat* law[4a] and so the legal aspect of the judiciary was identical under the Mughals as before. Yet regional usage and traditional values did influence the system to an appreciable extent.

The judiciary during our period was not alienated from the executive. Theoretically the basic and primary duty of the ruler and his agents was to save the sub ject from the clutches of the oppressors.[5] Therefore, each official right from the *Ṣubahdār* down to the petty *parganah* officials were spised to administer justice together with their executive responsibilities, and numerous examples can be cited to substantiate these assertions.

The judicial powers of the *Ṣubahdār* have been already discussed in the previous chapter. He was both an administrative head and a chief judicial officer within the *Ṣubah*.[6]

The jurisdiction of the *Dīwān* was essentially limited to the revenue cases.[7]

THE QĀẒI

In the judicial administration the institution of *Qāẓi* was of considerable importance, and the *Qāẓi* played a significant role in the provincial administration though his importance decreased during the Mughal rule.[8] Still the *Qāẓi* occupied third place in the administrative heirarchy after the *Ṣubahdār* and the *Dīwān*.[9]

There were no hard and fast rules for the appointment of the *Qāẓī*.[10] The family background, the academic qualifications and keen intellect were kept in view at the time of his appointment. Qazi Muhammad Ṣālih, son of Qāẓi Moosā, was appointed by Akbar soon after annexation.[11] Qāẓi Ṣālih was succeeded by Qāẓi ʿAbul Qāẓim. He was recommended by Qāẓi for this post.[12] He was replaced by Qāẓi ʿAbdullah Zahgīr. His appointment was also made on account of intelligence and ready-wit.[13] After his death, Qāẓi ʿAbul Qāẓim, son of Qāẓi Mulla Muhammad Raẓā, was appointed on the basis of his qualification;[14] Qāẓi Muhammad Muḥsin also was appointed on this post on account of his family background. He was a relative of Qāẓi Abul Qāẓim.[15]

There were no rules fixed for the duration of the office. It depended upon the integrity and re-sourcefulness of the person. Qāẓi Abdul Karīm held the post of *Qāẓi* for twenty four years during the reign of Aurangzēb,[16] while some of the *Qāẓis* were removed after a couple of years only.

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES :

Abul Faẓl had laid down the following directives to be followed by the *Qāẓi*, in the chapter *A'in-i-Mir'adl wa—Qāẓi*.[17] "Though it is the immediate duty of a monarch to receive complaints and dispense justice, yet it is not possible for one person to do everything, so the King delegated his powers to some other."[18] Thus obviously he was to administer justice and redress the grievances of the oppressed.

A code of justice in consonance with the ideals of Akbar was prepared and the *Qāẓis* were to administer justice and investigate the cases according to the same procedure.

The *Qāẓi* should not decide the cases barely on the basis of oaths and the statements of the witnesses or on the production of an undertaking. He should apply his intellect and wisdom and take all the

facts into consideration to his utmost satisfaction; he should himself pronounce the judgement.[19] There are some evidences when the *Qāẓis* imposed fines on the culprits, and capital punishments were also imposed by the *Qāẓis* without the confirmation of *Ṣubahdār.* In 10 Hijri a case of reproach and abuse on the companion of prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) was filed by a group of Sunni Muslims against a Shiʿa fanatic. The *Qāẓi* recorded the witness and the guilty was given capital punishment.[19a]

The charity grants were also distributed through the *Qāẓi* among the *ʿulama* and needy people.[20]

APPOINTMENT AND QUALIFICATIONS :

A *Qāẓi* should possess all the best qualities of a judge. He should be well-versed in the Islamic jurisprudence. Honesty and integrity should be the aim of his life. He should refrain from mixing with the common people, should not accept the invitation of all and sundry, and in no case should accept the presents, etc. from any person.[21]

The *Qāẓi* held his Court five days a week, attended the Court of the *Subahdār* once a week but Friday was observed as a holiday.[22] There was no territorial or executive jurisdiction of the Courts in the modern sense of the term. So there was nothing to prevent any one to approach the *Qāẓi's* Court.[23] There were *Qāẓis* in each *parganah* and the towns. The village *Qāẓi* led the prayers, and attended the *Nikāh* ceremonies. He was a teacher and some of them issued decrees to the villagers. *Qāẓi* of Sopore was of considerable importance. During the reign of Aurangzēb, a Qāẓi was appointed for Kashtawār as well.[25]

Complicated cases were usually filed in his court, while cases of ordinary nature were decided in the Courts of the *Kotwāl* and the *thānedārs.*[26] Several categories of cases were disposed after summary trials, so no written proceedings of them were maintained.[27] Moreover, judicial proceedings and details of adjucation in respect of civil and criminal cases are not traceable while such details are available from the records pertaining to the *Ṣubahs* of Ajmer, Deccan, etc. which perhaps may be explained in view of devastation caused by the Afghan and the Sikh invasions of Kashmir in which many records perished, therefore, the exact definition of the powers, functions and jurisdiction of the *Qāẓis'* office becomes problematic.

The appointment of the provincial *Qāẓi* was also made by the emperor in his discretion without any recommendation of the *Ṣubahdār* or *Qāẓi-ul-Quzāt*.[28] He was given a high *manṣab* and sufficient *madadi-ma'āsh* grant so as to keep him free from all financial burdens. Cash awards were also given to them.[29]

Qāzi was assisted by the Mufti and *Mir'adl*. Some times, a *Na'ib-i-Qāzi* was also appointed by *Qazi*.[30]

The secular type cases of Hindus and Muslims were also decided by the *Qazi*. But the suits pertaining to the personal law were decided according to the ways and methods sanctioned by the religious precepts followed by litigants. In 1586, an order was passed that the cases of Hindus should be decided by the Pandiths and not by *Qāẓis*.[31] Jahangir appointed Sríkanth as a "*Qāẓi* of Hindus,"[32] but evidence of any other Pandith appointed after the death of Srikanth is lacking

MUFTI

Mufti was not an official, but it appears the *Qāẓi* sought the advice of learned theologians in order to settle the complicated cases.[33] We do not find any evidence of the appointment of *Mufti*. There were usually more than one *Muftis* in the city of Srinagar alone.[34] The *Mufti* was simply one who elucidated or expounded a law point;[35] and his advice was sought on certain occasions only.[36] This institution had become hereditary in nature,[37] and the senior member was called *Mufti 'Aẓam*.[38] Even the expert theologians and scholars could issue *Futwā* (legal pronouncement).[39] The people approached them to seek their advice in order to know what is lawful and what is unlawful.[40]

Some of the famous Muftis who rose to the prominence were Mulla Yousf Chachak,[41] Mulla Razāk,[42] Mulla Muhammad Ṭāhir,[43] Mulla Sheikh Ahmad,[44] Mulla Muhammad Ashraf[45] and Muhammad Murād Naqashbandi.[46]

MIR'ADL

This institution was also introduced in Kashmir by the Sultans.[47] *Mir'adl* was appointed by the *Qāẓi*, and he tabled the cases which were filed in the Court of *Qāẓi*.[48]

The assertion of P. Saran regarding the post of *Mir'adl* is, that the post was combined with that of the *Qāẓi* and there was no such independent institution.[49] In support of his thesis, he puts forth the following arguments that in 41st regnal year of Akbar, the Empire was divided into twelve provinces, and the following officers were appointed in each province :

1. *Sipah Sālār*
2. *Dīwān*
3. *Bakhshi*
4. *Mir'adl*
5. *Ṣad'r*
6. *Kôtwāl*
7. *Mir Baḥr*
8. *Waqiâ Navīs*

Since there is no mention of a *Qāẓi*, so it can be con jectured that the *Mir'adl*, and *Qāzi* represented the same institution.[50] Furthermore, he assumes that the office of the *Ṣadr* and *Qāẓi* were not separate, but only one and the same office.[51]

But both of his assertions are not supported by facts. In fact Abul Faẓl explicity has laid down the rules and instructions for *Qāẓi* and *Mir'adl* separately,[52] and again evidence of *Dastūrul 'Amal-i-ʿĀlamgiri* also negates his assertion. It is further weakened by the available contemporary information about these institutions especially in this *Ṣubah*. An administrative manual explicity treats the institutions of the *Qāẓi*, *Mir'adl* and *Mufti* separately.[53] According to this manual the *Mir'adl* was to investigate and dispose of cases which were filed in his Court. In case there was some difficulty, he should refer the case to the *Qāẓi*.[54] The institution of *Ṣadr* was a separate institution and had distinct functions.[55] It was not necessary that the same person should be the *Ṣadr* and *Qāẓi*. There are so many examples to illustrate it further.

Qāẓi Ṣāleh was appointed *Qāzi* of Kashmir by Akbar soon after annexation and Mullah Habīb was *Mir'adl* during this period.[56] During the reign of Shah jahān, Qāẓi Âbdullah was *Qāzi* of *Ṣubah*, and Mulla Ha ji Bandey was *Mir'adl* and Mulla Muhammad Ṭāhir was holding the post of *Ṣadr*.[57] Thus it is obvious that the *Ṣadr*, *Qāẓi* and *Mir'adl* were three separate institutions. However, sometimes, the same person was appointed as *Qāzi* and *Mufti* or *Qāẓi* and *Mir'adl*.[58]

1. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 159b, 160a.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 2001, 207.
2. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 207.
3. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 159b-60a.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 200-1.
4. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (tr. N. Elias), p. 436
4a. *Khawāriqu-Sālikīn*, f. 111a.
5. Ibni Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 308-309.
6. See Chapter IV
7. See Chapter II, Section, IV.
8. See *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 2001-1, Mohibbul Hasan, for the *Qāzi* during the Sultanate period.
9. (i) In 1096 A.H. a sectarian fued burst out between Shiás and Sunnis. The Sunnis approached Qāzi Maulana Mohd Yousf for the redressal of their grievances. The *Qazi* inspite of pressure from the *Subahdar* supported the aggrieved party; and the *Subahdar* had no alternative but to yield, *Khawarikh-Salikin*, f. 131b.
(ii) Zameeruddin Siddiqi, 'Institution of Qāzi under the Mughals', Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol. I, pp. 1-20.
10. Ibni Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 310-12.
11. Qāzi Moosa was *Qāzi* during the reign of Yousf Shah Chak. His son, Yáqūb Chak, put him to death on account of his refusal to include the name of Ali in prayer call.
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir* f. 195a-b.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 123.
12. Qāzi Abul Qāsim was son of Qāzi Jamāl Syāl-Koti. He was a famous saint and scholar of his time. Qazi Salih was the tutor of Abul Qāsim also.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 134, 148-50.
13. *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, pp. 148-9
14. *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 166.
Gouhar-i-'Alam, p. 289
15. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 192.
16. Qāzi Abdul Karim was relative of Maulana Muhammad Yousf Kawoosa. He was a pupil of Maulvi Abul Fateh Kaloo. After the transfer of Muhammad Yousf, he was appointed the *Qāzi*, and remained in the office till the last years of the Aurangzeb-b's reign.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 215.
17. *A'in, (N.K.) I*, p. 197.
18. *A'in, I*, (N.K.), p. 197.
See also *The Administration of Justice*, Muhammad Akbar, p. 15, Lahore, 1948.
19. *A'in, I*, (N.K.), p. 197.
19a. *Khawārikh-Sālikīn*, f. 132a.
20. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 250.
21. Hidayatullah Bihari, *Hidāyitul-Qawāid*, f. 115a.

22. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, p. 174.

23. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 99.

24. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 135; Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 296.

25. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 214.

26. P. Saran *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 231-2.

27. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 95.

28. P. Saran, *Provincial Administration Under the Mughals*, pp. 231-33. See for detailed and the contrary views the article of Zameeruddin Siddiqi, 'The Institution of Qāẓi under the Mughals', Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol I, pp. 1-20.
The assertion of Jadunath Sarkar that the *provincial Qāẓi* was appointed by the *Qāẓi-ul-Quzāt, Mughal Administration*, p. 96, is not supported by the facts. The appointments stated above were made by the emperors, and not by the *Qāẓi-ul-Quzāt*, and we don't possess any evidence of the recommendations of *Qāẓi-ul-Quẓāt* even.

29. Wāriṣ, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, f. 272.

30. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 211.

31. P. Saran *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, p. 375.

32. *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, pp. 194-95.

33. P. Saran, *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 345-46.
Mufti was called also *Vakil-i-Shara*, Akhbārāt, 46 Regnal Year.

34. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 168, 189, Document.

35. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 92.

36. Ibni Hasan states that the presence of a *Mufti* was not essential if *Qāẓi* was well qualified. Ibni Hasan, *Central Structure of Mughal Empire*, pp. 314-15.

37. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 189, 222.
Muhammad Murād Teng, *Tuhfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 83a.

38. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 243.

39. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 296.

40. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 187.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 296.

41. Mulla Yousf Chachak was a disciple of Khwā ja Khāwand Mahmood and Mulla Fāẓil, and Mulla Abdul Razak were his contemporaries, *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 148.

42. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 169, 189.

43. Ibid.

44. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 168.

45. Akhbārāt, 46 R.Y.

46. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 222-223.

47. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 159b, 160a.

48. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 200-1. I.H. Qureṣhi, assumes that Mir'adl was appointed in most important cities, is not supported by facts. *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p. 191.

49. P. Saran *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 348-50.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *A'in, I*, (N.K.), p. 197.
See also Ibni Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 322.

53. *Dastūrul ʿAmal-i-ʿĀlamgiri*, p. 6599, f. 38

54. Ibid.

55. See Chapter II, Section IV

56. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 134, Qāẓi Ṣālih was son of Qāẓi Moosā who was assissinated by Yaʿqūq Chak in 1586 A.D. Qazi Ṣālih died in 1002 A.H. *Tarikh-i-Aqwaml-Kashmir*, Munshi Moh'd Din Fouq, Vol I, 1934 Lahore p. 229 and A.N.

57. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 168-189.

58. Muhammad Ashraf was *Mufti* as well as *Ṣadr* in 46th R.Y. of Aurangzeb. He held the *mansab* of *Amīn Jaziya* also. Akhbārāt, 46 R.Y. During 1727-1729, Maulana Inayatullāh was serving as *Mir'adl* and *Dāroga ʿAdālat* as well.

II. POLICE & MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

FAUJDAR AND HIS FUNCTIONS :

The protection of life and property of the subjects was equally important for the peace, tranquility, and the stability of the state. Therefore, every effort was made to have a close watch over the lawand order situation both internally and externally. The vassal chieftains were responsible to maintain peace within their territory. The entire area under the direct administration of the *Ṣubahdār* was divided into a number of divisions and each division was entrusted to an official known as *faujdār.*[1] These territorial *faujdars* were subordinate to the Ṣubahdār. The territorial limits of a *faujdāri* varied from place to place.[2] Some of the *faundāris* stretched over a parganas as *pargana* Dachan and Khawarpārā, and Davra-wa-Karnave, while in some cases, *faujdari* limits extended over a few *parganas* like *faujdari* Kamrā j.[3] There were sixteen *parganas* in Kamrā j division.[4] Ra jouri, Noushahra, and Bhimber were separate *faujdāris*, but sometimes, all the three *faujdāris* were assigned to one official.[5] The *faujdārs* of Ra jouri and Noushahra, used to be officials of high rank, while the rest of them were of lower ranks.[6]

The *Ṣubah* of Kashmir comprised five divisions viz., Kashmir, Punch, Pakhli, Kashtawar, Little Tibet, and Greater Tibet.[7] The number of *parganas* increased from 38 to 56 during this period.[8] It was divided into the following *faujdāris*—Kamrā j,[9] Mara j,[10] Darva-wa Karnāve[11] Ra jouri,[12] Noushahra,[13] Dachanpara, and Khawarpārā,[14] Poonch, Kāshāl, and Damyāl.[15]

It appears that the stragetic importance of the region was kept in view while determining the area of a *faujdāri.*[16] After the annexation in 1586 A.D., the rebels had taken shelter in the mountainous regions of Kamrā j, Marāz, Dachanpara, and Dachan Khawūra regions.[17] These regions were entrusted to *faujdārs* in order to keep a close watch over the activities of the rebels, and recalcitrant *zamindārs.*[18] Ra jouri, Noushahra, and Bhimbar had great strategic importance. These posts were, as a matter of fact, gateways of Kashmir.[19] Above all, these regions were inhabited by turbulant chieftains who always created trouble.[20] So separate *faujadārs* were appointed in these regions. Poonch, Kāshāl, and Damyāl formed one *faujdāri*. In 12 R.Y., 1064/1653-54 A.D. *faujdār* Jabār Quli was transferred and Murād Quli Gakhar was appointed as *faujdār* of this area.

The *faujadārs* were appointed by the Emperor under a *farmān* bearing the seal and signatures of the *Bakhshi-ul-Mulk*.[22]

FUNCTIONS:

The primary duty of a *faujdārs* was to protect the common people from the tyrannies of thieves and miscreants, and put down rebels of the *Ṣubah*.[23]

The maintenance of law and order, care and safety of the highways, and vigilant watch over the activities of thieves and robbers.[24]

His help was also sought by the revenue collectors in case the recalcitrant *zamindār* or ryots were reluctant to pay the revenue. But he was advised not to use force in the first instance.[25] He also watched the *jāgīrdārs* and *zamindārs* if they collected the illegal cesses from the tenants.[26] He maintained a large contingent,[27] and had to be always vigilant and mobile.

The office comprised of two *peshkars* and a couple of *muharirs*. Their pay varied from regime to regime.[27a]

THĀNEDĀR

Thanas or police posts were established in the *Ṣubah* at various places. The duties and functions of *Thānedārs* appear to have been identical with that of *faujdār*.[28] But the region under the control of a *thānedāri* appears to have been comparatively smaller. In the absence of source material, it is rather difficult to demarcate the territorial jurisdiction of the *thānedārs*.[29]

The *faujdār* had a large area under his charge and had to perform multifarious duties, therefore, the need arose to establish *thānās* in various localities.[30] Secondly, sometimes, the strategic importance of certain areas also required a close watch. For example, during his visits, Akbar ordered the establishment of *Thānās* at Noushahra,[31] Ra jouri,[31] and Bi jbehra.[33] Another *thana* was established during our period at Kamrāj,[34] and Shigar.[35] Fortresses of Ra jouri, and Noushahra were built during this period.[36] The old fort of Bi jbehrara was repaired and a thana was stationed in this fortress.[37]

After the conquest of Little Tibet, a *thānedār* was posted by the *Subahdār* with the permission of the Emperor in this territory.[38]

The *thānās* were equipped with men and material in order to defend the territory.[39]

The *Thānedārs* were appointed by the Emperor, but had to serve under the *Ṣubahdār*.[40]

On account of administrative deterioration during the latter Mughal period, some of the *thānedārs* revolted against the *ṣubahdārs* and caused great disturbances.[41] They became law breakers rather than guardians of law. In 1749-50, Babarullah *thanedār* of Kamrāz, entered into a league with the turbulant *zamindārs* of Muzzafarābd, with the assistance of each other they pushed back the provincial forces beyond Pattan. The innocent sub jects were harassed, their property was looted and the women were molested.[42]

KÔTWĀL

We have already stated that the rural areas were under the control of the *faujdār* and the *Thānedār*. The village *Choukidār* kept them informed of all the local developments.[43] Similarly, the urban areas like cities and towns were under the jurisdiction of the *Kotwal* concerning all police and municipal affairs.[44] As Srinagar was the only city of great importance in the *Subah*, the *Kotwāl* was perhaps appointed to this metropolitan city only.

The chief duty of *Kotwāl* lay in the maintenance of law and order, supervision of markets, and slaughter houses, guarding against The apprehension of the miscreants and anti-social elements,[45] and keeping the undertrials in his custody in his office which was called *Chabūtarā Kotwāli*.[46] the accused who were under his charge where presented to the Courts where their cases were put up for trial.[47] He also executed the sentence of convictions and exercising a measure of judicial authority in the disposal of some cases.[48]

The nature of the *Kotwal's* office may be compared with the present police superintendent but it cannot be linkedl to that of a municipal officer because the very concept of civic administration was not understood in the modern sense of the term during this period.

MUHTASIB

This institution had a long standing in Kashmir. During the Hindu rule, this officer was known as *Nagarādhikrta*.[49] His duty was to collect the fines imposed upon the defaulters, and keep an eye on the public morale. The same duty was carried on by the *Muhtasib* and the *Kotwāl* during the Muslim rule.[50] But the significance of *Muhtasib* comparatively decreased under the Mughals. Under Aurangzeb the office regained its importance[51] but subsequently it died down.

A solitary but quite significant piece of evidence throws sufficient light on the nature of duties of the *Muhtasib.*

A *Muhtasib* raided the house of a mansabdar, Mir Muhammad Ṣafa, where a *mahfil-i-Samā* was being hosted. The *Muhtasib* was informed by his informers. This raid was conducted to stop the musical recital.[52] It can be con jectured that the *Muhtasib* was virtually "censor of the public morale," and was charged to prevent the people from indulging in un-Islamic practices.[53]

BAKHSHĪ

The *Bakhshī* occupied a significant place in the provincial administration next to the *Dīwān*. The incumbent used to hold a high *manṣab*.[54] His appointment was made by the Emperor and the order bore the signatures of all the four central *Bakhshis*,[55] but he had to work under the subordination of the *Ṣubahdār*.[56] It is quite significant to note that the duties of *Waqi'a Nawīs* were also assigned to the same official.[57] In A.D. 1640, Qāẓi Mohammad Qāsim was holding the post of *Bakhshi* as well as that of *Waqi'a Nawīs*.[57a] 'Ali Akbar another *Bakhshi* was functioning as a *Waqi's Nawīs*.[58] Similarly, Muhammad Salīm who was *Bakhshi* was also appointed as *Waqi's Nawis*[59] in 1656. He retained both offices for a long time. Obviously, this increased the significance of the *Bakhshi*.[60] Being a *Waqia Nawis*, he personally attended the office of the *Ṣubahdār* and posted his subordinate staff in the offices of *Dīwān*, *Ṣad'r*, *Qāzi*, and the *pargana* officials.[61] His weekly reports were submitted to the centre directly in a sealed enveiop.[62] He had a well-staffed office to carry on the work efficiently and effectively.

He maintained the descriptive rolls of the retainers of *mansabdars*, the *jāgirdārs* and the *zamindars* within his *Ṣubah*.[63] He disbursed the emoluments of the *tāyinātiyāni-ṣuba* and other

officials who were paid in cash.[64] His office was run by a *pēshkār* and *Muharirān*. Their scale of pay varied from *Ṣubahdār* to *Ṣubahdār*. Under Ibrāḥīm Khān the *pēshkār* of this office was paid rupees twenty only and under Jāfar Khān he was paid rupees sixty. The *Moharir* received rupees eighty in the *Ṣubahdāri* of Ibrāḥīm Khān, rupees seventy during Nawāzish Khān's term and rupees fifteen only during Sādat Khān's regime.[64a]

The *ta'yinātis* of the *Ṣubah* sought his permission if they wanted to go outside the *Ṣubah* otherwise they were termed absconders (*Firāri*), and their property was sub ject to confiscation.[65] The property of the deceased was also escheated by the *Bakhshi*.[66]

1. *A'in I*, (N.K.), pp. 196-97.
2. S.R. Sharma, presumes that every *sarkār* was assigned to one *faujdār*, *Mughal Government and Administration*, p. 243, but it was not a fact so far the *Subah* of Kashmir was concerned.
3. N.A. Siddiqi, incorporating *Siyāq Nama*, Nand Ram Kayisht, states that a new *faujdāri* in Chakla Faizabād was created during the reign of Shah jahān. I have not been able to trace out the newly created Chakla Faizābād in *Sarkar* Kashmir, which was assigned to a *faujdār*. There is no mention of this neither in Narain Koul Ājiz's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, which was compiled in 1709, nor in *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, written in 1748. "Medieval India Quartely, Vol 4, 1961, p. 25. Since the *Siyāq Nāmā* was written in Bihar, and the details essentially pertain to the same province. Pargana Fatehpur of Faizabad *sarkar* is in this very province. No Chakla of this name was ever created in the province of Kashmir.
   (ii) In 1586, *Muhib* Ali was appointed *Faujdār* of *parganah* Dachanpārā and Khawarpārā, *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 205a.
4. *A'in, II*, pp. 177-78. The whole division had only one *Faujdār*, Ruqa'āt, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 17a.
5. Muhammad Kazim, *'Ālamgir Nāmā*, p. 195.
6. Saeed Khān was appointed in 1068H/Fau jdār of Bhimber and Noushahra, Muhammad Kāzim, *'Alamgir Nāmā*, p. 195.
   P. Saran, *Province Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 227, 229.
7. See Chapter II, Section I
8. See Appendix 'B'
9. *Ruqa'āt*, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 17a.
10. *Ruqa'āt*, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 19a.
11. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 218
12. Muhammad Kazim, *'Ālamgir Nāmā*, p. 195.
13. *Ibid.*

14. *Baharistān-i-Shāhī*, f. 205a.

15. Waris, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, ff. 249-50.

16. P. Saran, *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*,p. 224.
Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol II, pp. 685-86.

17. *Baharistān-i-Shāhi*, f. 205a.

18. *Baharistān-i-Shāhi*, f. 205a.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 218

19. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 294.

20. See Chapter I, Section II.

21. Waris, *Bādshah Nāma, II*, ff. 249-50.

22. *A'in, I*, pp. 196-97.
P. Saran, *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, p. 229.

23. *A'in, I*, pp. 196-97.
Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 205a

Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 218. See also *Nigar Nama Munshi*, f. 68.
N.A. Șiddiqi has also elaborated the duties and functions in his book, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, pp. 24, 36, 61, and 113-114. For a general study, see J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 63-64 *Inshāi Har Karan*, f. 446, Ms No 401, Iqbal Library, Kashmir University.

24. *A'in*, I, pp. 196-97.
Hidaytul-Qawaid, f. 213a.
Baharistān-i-Shāhi, f. 205a.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 218.

25. *A'in, I*, pp. 196-97; *Ruqa'āt*, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, 19a.

26. Jawāhir Mal Bekas, *Dastūrul-Āmal*, f. 9.

27. *A'in, I*, p. 196-97.

27a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 454a.

28. The *Thānedār* of Marāz as well as Kamrāz were practically carrying on the functions of *Faujdārs*. See *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 257.

29. *Thanedār* of Kamrāz had almost entire area beyond Sopore under his control, *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 257-60, and the *Thānedār* of Marz which was housed in an old fort at Bi jbehara controlled the upper division. *Faiẓi, Akbar Nāma*, ff. 238b, 39a. See also N.A. Siddiqi, 'Fau jdar' "Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol IV, 1961," p. 28.

30. P. Saran *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 230-32.
N.A. Siddiqi, "Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol IV, 1961," p 28. Mostly the *Thānās* were stationed in the hilly regions of the *Șubah*. As a matter of fact, there was no need of so many police posts within the valley, because there were only few crimes in the *Șubah*. It never posed a serious threat to the administration, *A'in, II*, 170 (N.K.). *Kalimat-u Taibāt*, f. 92.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 228.

31. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
Mohammad Kazim, *'Alamgir Nāma*, pp. 1038-39.

32. *Inshā-i-Harkaran*, f. 17. See also *Ruqa'āt*, Acc. No. 2675, Research Library, Srinagar, f. 28-29.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 257.

33. *A'in, II*, p. 171. Faizi, *Akbar Nama*, ff. 238b-239a.

34. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 257.

35. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tarikhi Jammu* etc., p. 613.

36. *Tuzuk*, p. 317
Faiẓi, *Akbar Nāma*, ff. 238b-39a.

37. Faiẓi, *Akbar Nāma*, ff. 238b-39a.

38. Desideri, *Travels etc.* (tr. Filipi de Fellipo), p. 75.

39. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, II, pp. 167-8.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 257.

40. Manglī Khān was appointed by Aurangzeb as a *Thānedār* of Noushahrā, Muhammad Kazim, *'Ālamgir Nama*, pp. 1038-39.
Tuzuk, p. 317.
Hashmatullah Khān, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 613.

41. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 257.

42. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 257.
This is perhaps the only instance when any official openly rebelled in Kashmir. No doubt, the peoples risings took place intermittingly during the Mughal rule. The period of later Mughals was virtually full of chaos and confusion and lawlessness was prevalent all over the Ṣubah. See also Zahiruddin Malik, "Ṣuba of Kashmir Under the later Mughals,' Medieval India—A Miscellany, Vol II, 1972," pp. 149-63.

43. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 228.
Superflous assumption of P.N.K. Bamzai that Kashmir had varying number of *sarkars* in the Mughal period and each *sarkār* was in the charge of a *Kôtwāl*, where he looked after the personal security of people, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 437, is not supported by any evidence.

44. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 66-71.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government and Administration, pp, 232-235.*
See also article of Akram Makhdoom, "Journal of Indian History, Vol 14, Part I, p. 111-13; 1935." The Assertion of P.N.K. Bamzai that Kashmir had varying number of sarkars in the Mughal period and each *sarkar* was in charge of a *Kotwal*, where he looked after the personal security of people, A *History of Kashmir*, p. 437, is not supported by any evidence.

45. *A'in, I*, pp. 197-8, See also *Historical Fragments, p. 452. Nigārnāma Munshi*, f. 130. P. Saran, *Provincial Government & Administration*, pp. 232-35.

46. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, pp. 291-s.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 175-256.

47. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, pp. 291-2.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.

48. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, pp. 291-2.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 175-256.
P. Umre, *Historical Fragments*, p. 452.

49. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 204.

50. *Hidayātul-Qawāid*, p. 172a.
Nigār Nāma Munshī, f. 132a.

Dastūrul-'Alam-i-'Alamgiri, Add 6599, f. 38.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, p. 394.
See also *Mir'at-i-Ahamadi*, Supp. pp. 174-75.

51. J. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 25.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, p. 394, 398.

52. Mullah Ahamad Bin Abdus-Ṣabūr, *Khawariqu-Sālikīn*, f. 145b.

53. P. Saran, *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, p. 398.

54. Muhammad Salīm Bakhshi had a *manṣab* of 1000/400,
Muhammad Kāẓim, *'Alamgir Nama*, p. 196.
'Ali Akbar who was transferred from Kashmir to Kashgar had a *manṣab* of 250/60, Akhbārāt, 17th Jamid, II, 44 R.Y.

55. *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, Supp., pp. 174-75.
P. Saran has wrongly interpreted the sentence as there used to be four *Bakhshīs* in province who were appointed under the seal of the *Mirbakhshi, Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, pp. 197-8. *Hālāt-i-Mamālik-i-Mahroosa*, f. 139. Ibn-i-Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 215.

56. J.N. Sarkar is not correct in his assumption that the *Bakhshī* used to be an official attached to the personal contingents of the *Subahdar*, *Mughal Administration*, p. 55. It is an admitted fact that every noble of considerable *rank* had his own *"Sarkar,"* which was obviously supervised by the personal staff of the noble. He appointed his *Dīwān*, *Bakhshī*, Treasurer and *'āmil* in the *Sarkar*. Obviously, it was not the Ṣubahdār only who had his personal staff. But every noble maintained it. Athar Ali, *Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, pp. 161-62. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 451. William Irvine, *Army of the great Mughals*, p. 40. Ibni Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 231-32.

57. William Irvine, *The Army of the Great Mughals*, p. 40.

57a. Kumbo, *'Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 428.

58. "Akhbarāt, 17th Jamadi II, 44th R.Y."

59. Wāris, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, f. 323.
Mohammad Kāzim, *'Ālamgir Nama*, p. 196.

60. P. Saran *Provincial Government and Administration of the Mughal*, pp. 199-98. The importance of the officials can be also felt by this single evidence that Shah jahān during his visit to Kashmir remained for sometime in the house of Qazi Muhammad Qasim Bakhshī, Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 419. It is the only evidence when any of the Emperors had stayed in the private house of any official other than *Ṣubahdār*.

61. *Mirat-i-Ahamadi*, Supp. pp. 174-75.
Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 293, 298.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 193.

62. *Mirat-i-Ahamadi*, (Supp.) pp. 174-75.
P. Saran *Provincial Government & Administration of the Mughals*, p. 198.

63. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 537b.
Hidāyitul-Qawāʿid, f. 132.
J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 199

64. P. Omre, *Historical Fragments*, p. 410. I.H. Qureshi is of the opinion that the Bakhshi was not a pay master-general. He discharged such a duty only occasionally, *Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p. 79.

64a. *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, f. 451b.

65. *Mirʿat-i-Ahamadi*, (Supp.), pp. 174-75.

66. P. Saran *The Provincial Government & Administration of the Mughals*, p. 198.

III. SECRET SERVICES FOR INTELLIGENCE

The centralised structure of the Mughal administrative set-up[1] made it imperative to keep a close watch over the provincial affairs; especially with the expansion of the empire the need of vigilance was felt still greater. It was not possible without any effective espionage system.[2] In the early stage there was only one institution known as *Wāqiā Nawīs*.[3] As we have stated above the post was often combined with that of the *Bakhshi*. He posted his subordinate officials in the various provincial offices and bi-weekly reports were submitted to the central government through *dāk-choukī*.[4] The officials attached to this institution collected all sorts of information, even the private gossip of the officers, and the like was transmitted to the emperor.[5] The dāk chouki of Ṣubah Kashmir was supposed to deliver the *dāk* at the border of Gu jarāt. There were 47 officials in this department during the reign of Aurangzēb. It was the the responsibility of the *Ṣubahdār* to ensure the regular disbursement of their pay without any break. This department almost kept a diary of the daily official transactions.[6] In due course of time its efficiency was effected and the reports usually were biased, which necessitated the introduction of another secret service which kept the centre well posted without omission and commission. This was called *Khufiyā Nawīs* or Sawānih Nawīs.[7] The appointment was made secretly, and his reports were considered very reliable and authentic.[8] Prompt action was taken against a defaulter against whom the officials submitted such reports. Ibrāhīm Khān, the *Ṣubahdār*, was reprimanded by the Emperor on the basis of the report of the *Khufiyā Nawīs*.[9] The *Khufiyā Nawīs* kept an eye on the conduct of the officials and sent reports against those officials whose conduct was not conducive to the state policies.[10] But in the latter half of Aurangzeb's reign the *Sawānih Nigār* also entered into alliance with the corrupt *Ṣubahdārs* and played a vital part in exploiting both the state and the people. Abū-Naṣar Khān and his brother Muẓaffar Khān paid a share out of their illegal exactions to them.[11] Obviously, they remained in the office for longer periods in spite of their atrocities and illegal exactions.[12]

But on the whole the *Khufiyā Nawīs* was a great check on the behaviour of the provincial officers. Subsequently, another official called *Harkara* was appointed to each province. This official was to carry on same duty as that of *Khufiya-Nawīs* and *Wāqiā Nawīs*. Of all

the three officials, his reports were considered to be more reliable.[12a] The identity of this official remained almost concealed[13] while the *Khufiyā Nawīs* had become on open service.[14] *The ḥarkarā* reports were directly sent to the centre through *dāk-chouki* for the imperial persual.[15] The office of *Wa'qia Nawīs* was run by a pēshkār, wakil and a couple of *muharirān*.[15a]

1. Ibni Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 357-358.
2. In the Independent Kashmir, there was highly developed espionage system, but we don't know about the facts of these institutions after the Mughal annexation, Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 203.
3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Supp.), p. 175.
   P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 198.
4. *Mirāt-i-Ahamadi*, p. 175. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 534.
5. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 534. *Dasturul Amal-i-Alamgiri*, Add. 6599, f. 38. *Akhbārāt*, 29th Muḥaram, 45th R.Y.
6. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Supp.), p. 175. P. Saran, *Provincial Government & Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 197-98.
7. *Mirat-i-Ahamadi*, p. 174.
   P. Saran, *Provincial Government & Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 198-99.
8. *Gouhar-i-'Alam*, p. 293.
   Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (Supp.), p. 174-75.
9. *Gouhar-i-'Alam*, p. 293.
10. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, pp. 293, 294.
11. Muhammad Murād Teng, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 97a.
12. Muhammad Murād Teng, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 97a.

12a. *Mirat-i-Ahamadi*, (Supp.), p. 175.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, p. 198.
Zamiruddin Siddiqi, 'Intelligence Service Under the Mughals', Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol II, 1972.

13. *Mirat-i-Ahamadi*, (Supp.), pp. 175-76
    Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 434b.
14. Mohammad Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqara*, f. 97a.
    P. Saran, *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, pp. 198-99.
15. *Mirat-i- Ahmadi*, (Supp.), pp. 174-75.
    Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 434b.

15a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 451b.

IV. MINOR ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES

The mughal administrative set-up was highly sophisticated. Each and every branch of the administration was well attended.[1] The division in the work resulted in the efficient functioning of the administration. We have already discussed the ma jor branches of administration. But our study will be incomplete if we do not take note of the minor administrative functionaries.

MĪR BAḤRĪ

The geographical features of Kashmir had provided the *Ṣubah* with natural stream-links and as such the entire trade and commerce was carried on through rivers.[2] River transport was a lucrative profession and it always remained in the hands of *"Hānjis".[3] In order to divest them of their profits a heavy tax was imposed on each member of this tribe irrespective of his working capacity.[4] During the reign of Jahāngīr I'taqād Khān reversed the old system and imposed an annual tax of 75 dāms* irrespective of their age and sex,[5] but in 1633-34, the order was repeated and the tax was levied according to the old rates, as 60 *dāms* on a youngman, 36 *dāms* on boys and 12 *dāms* on infirm old men.[6]

There were more than 5700 boats plying in the river Jhelum and its tributaries during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr.[7] In his first visit, Akbar wanted to visit the upper division of the valley in a boat and so a large number of beautiful house-boats were afloat on the river Jhelum and the Dal Lake.[8] The construction and organization of this department was assigned to an official called *Mīr Baḥrī*.[9] It was considered to be a prestigeous post. Mullah Maẓharī a famous post was appointed by Akbar as *Mīr Baḥarī* of Kashmir.[10]

Keeping in view the nature of the services, we can assume that he had a considerable retinue under him, posted at various ferries and posts, to collect the tax levied on the merchandise, grain and fodder.[11] Besides, the tax collection, he was supervising the building of boats and the maintenance of boat bridges as well.[12]

His duties were identical with that of *Khānisāmān* of the central government. This official was in charge of buildings, gardens, and state *Kārkhānās*.[13] He was known as *Diwāni-Bayūtāt* and *dāroga-Bagāt-o-Munzihāt* also.[14] He was in charge of state houses, palaces, gardens and *karkhanas*. The maintenance, and administration of the state property was his sole responsibility.[15] He appointed his own subordinate staff like *mālis*, and *chowkidārs*.

His appointment was made by the Emperor and he was in no way an official subordinate to the *Khānisāmān*.

In 1044-1634-35, Shah jahān appointed Malik Haidar architect-historian *Dāroga Bāghat-wa ʿImārāt*, he remained in his office till his death, and Muhammad Kāẓim was appointed in his place.[16] He was replaced by Sayyed Maqsood. He died in 1683-84 and Hā ji Muhammad Sayeed was appointed as *bayūtāti*,[17]a who was succeeded by Muhammad Rafi.[18] Some of the *Bayūtātīs* held a high *manṣab* also. Hā ji Mohammad Sayeed had a *manṣab* of 250/10,[19] and Muhammad Isḥāq Khān, son of Dārāb Khān held the rank of 400/20 and Muhammad Moonis 300/7 [20]

1. Ibni Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 354-56.
2. *A'in*, I, p. 145 (N.K.)
3. *A'in*, I, p. 145; II, 170
   Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 313-14
   Baḥāristān-i-Shāhī, f. 99a.
4. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, *II*, ff. 267-68a.
   "Inscription on the gate of Jamia 'Mas jid," Srinagar.
5. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, ff. 267-68a.
   "Inscription of Jamia' Mas jid," Srinagar.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 299.
   Iqbāl Nama Jahāngīri, II, p. 564.
8. *A'in*, *I*, p. 145; *A.N. III*, p. 550.

9. *A'in I*, p. 145.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.

Doābgāh, an ad jacent town of Sopore was famous for boat industry. David Rose, *The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh*, p. 166.

10. Badāuni, *Muntakhibu-Tawārikh*, III, pp. 344-45.
Blochmann, *A'in-i-Akbari*, p. 654.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.

11. *A'in*, I, p. 145 (N.K.)

12. *A'in, I*, p. 145.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government and Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 170-71.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 409b-446a.

13. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 208.
S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Administration, p. 242.*
J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 44-45.

14. *Lahori, Bādshah Nāmā, II*, p. 208.

15. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 44-46
S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration*, p. 242.

16. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāmā*, II, pp. 53, 208.

17. *Akhbārāt, Shawāl, 25 R.Y.*

18. *Akhbārāt, Ramzān*, 40 R.Y.

19. *Akhbārāt*, Shawāl, 25 R.Y.
Rabi I, 46 R.Y.

20. *Akhbārāt*, Rabi I, 46 R.Y.
Muhammad Habi was given a rank of 200 and appointed *Bayūtāti* in 1702, Akhbārāt, 23rd Şafar, 44 R.Y.

SECTION II
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

CHAPTER : VI
SOCIAL CONDITIONS

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

The Mughal conquest was truning point in the social, economic, political, and cultural history of Kashmir, Henceforth the Ṣubah entered into a new phase of its history, breaking the age-long state of isolation.

In fact, the establishment of Muslim rule in the first quarter of 14th century had paved the way for the Islamic institutions.[1] The process of cultural assimilation, however continued, and it was the Mughal period that it took a definite shape. There was substantial change in the working of the political and administrative institutions,[2] and the socio-economic set-up did undergo a drastic chage.[3] The cash nexus was introduced during the period which gave a new fillip to the traditional economic set-up.[4] Persian language which had already found its way into the *Ṣubah* eliminated Sanskrit & Sharda script completely. New *Ṣūfi* Orders like Naqashbandi, Chistia and Suḥrawardī were introduced. The indigenous Rīshī (mystic) Order and Kubrawi Order disintegrated along with Nūrbakhsia Order which was gaining ground during the Chak rule and ultimately diluted to the extent that it was rather difficult to differentiate the Shiism and Nūrbakhshiya ideology.

It was during this period that the Kashmiri merchants, soldiers, poets, artisans and scholars served outside Kashmir. They spread almost all over India,[5] while Irānīs, Tūranīs, Afghans, and Indians came to Kashmir and settled in the *Ṣubah*.[5a] Obviously, this social mobilization gave a new turn to the existing social order.

The adjacent chieftains of little and greater Tibet, Punch, and other hill states were reduced to complete submission. A uniform administrative set-up resulted in the free movement of merchants from one region to other. The *Jāgirdār*: besides the provincial officials mostly lived in the cities and towns. Thus these urban centres became the hub of all socio-cultural activities. New townships developed on the trade routes.[6] Srinagar had the privilege of being the capital of the *Ṣubah* and as such it became the main centre of all the social movements. The industrial growth took a different shape, and in the course of time the shawl-weaving industry became a leading industry. which revolutionized the economy of the *Ṣubah*.

These currents and cross-currents, action and inter-action ultimately resulted in the assimilation of diverse cultures and a new social set-up emerged out. However, links with the past were not broken altogether; but a new social order had taken birth from the debris of the old indigenous traditions.

Dress, diet, housing, customs, and mode of living did undergo a change in the period that followed.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to discuss the important features of the social institutions, stratification of society, social and religious life and movements and the interplay of social, cultural intellectual and economic factors in the evolution of a composite and integrated social order in Kashmir as part of the larger social forces in operation in the whole of the Mughal Empire.

DIET :

Rice remained the staple food of the people in the valley as usual.[7] It was boiled and left to cool down, because there was no custom of taking hot meals.[8] Neither salt nor ghee was added during preparation.[9] But the people of upper classes en joyed all sorts of delicious dishes of various types and various preparations of meat were also cherished on festive occasions.[10] Both boiled and fried green and dried vegetables were used commonly.[11] Walnut oil was mostly taken by the poorer sections of the society.[12] Rape, linseed, sesame and mustard oil was in common use.[13] Butter and fats were not used commonly for the preparation of the dishes as it was considered to be harmful because of cold climate.[14] Froth of buckwheat, barley, and millet was mostly eaten by the common people residing on the outskirts of the Wular-lake.[15] Water chestnut flour was the staple food article of thousands of people.[16] The nut flour was supplied to *biryān Farôshān* of Srinagar, by the farm contractors who appropriated the nuts from the lakeside during the harvest season.[17] Bread prepared from the nut-flour was considered to be highly nutritive.[18]

Fish,[19], mutton,[20] beaf,[21] fowls both domestic[22] and wild were used by all sections of the people. Beens,[23] knolkhol,[24] carrots, bringal,[25] turnips[25a] and pumpkins[26] were the usual vegetables.[27] Grams were not locally produced but lentils and other kinds of pulses were raised throughout the *Ṣubah*.[28]

A brothlike dish of Mutton, rice and spices called Ḥarisā was sold in the city during winter months. It was relished by all the sections of the society.

Wheat and barley was cultivated in a few pockets of the valley. Buckwheat, and millets were the main crops of Little and Greater Tibet, Pakhli and Kashtawār. Special kind of rice was produced in Rajouri, but the people mostly used bread in these regions.[29] Various types of bread called *jasa* and *nān* was prepared of wheat flour by the bakers.[29a] Ghee was also used while baking.[29b]

Spices of various kinds like pepper, turmeric, ginger, cloves, chillies and saffron were added to increase the taste and flavour of the dishes.[30] These spices were mainly imported from Agra.[31]

DRINKS :

Most common drink, though not intoxicating was tea. It was imported mainly from China via Ladakh.[32] Soft liquor of various types was used by all and sundry.[33] It was distilled from grapes, barley, rice and mulberries.[34] Locally the liquor was called *mas*[35] Boza was prepared from rice in Pakhli as well as in the valley.[36] The distilled liquid was preserved in earthen jars for years together. The oldest *boza* was called "*achī*"[37] In Little and Greater Tibet, a peculiar drink was prepared from barley, millet and buckwheat.[38] It was mixed with goats butter. The delicious soft intoxicating drink was called "*chang*". Cups after cups were taken to heat up their bodies.[39]

On festive occasions there was free consumption of liquor by the particpants.[40] *Angūri* and *qandī* were the cherished drinks of singers.[41] But there appears to have been substantial decrease in liquor consumption during the later half of the 17th century. Tobacco was introduced during the late 17th century,[42] and during 18th century, it was puffed by a larger section of the society.[43]

DRESS :

The climate conditions have a direct relation with the dress of the people. The cultivation of cotton was not profitable because of poor yield while as excellent pastoral areas provided sufficient grazing ground for sheep; so wool was available in larger quantities.[44] Secondly the valley and Kashtawār were full of mulberry trees.[45] Silk

worms were reared on the leaves of this golden tree. So, the dress of men and women was prepared from wool,[46] while silk garments were the privilege of upper class-people only.[47] Cotton cloth being very costly was considered to be an item of luxury.[48] A loose and long gown of *paṭṭū* was the common dress of all the people in the valley and Pakhli.[49] During the winter months, woollen blankets were used by all sections of the society.[50] It was difficult to differentiate a Hindu from Muslim on the basis of dress.[51] Drawers were not used by the lower sections[52] while *Jāma, pēshwāz, chemes* were the main articles of dress of upper classes.[53] These articles were made from fine silk, *zarbāft, kimbhāb* and velvet.[54] A long and loose dress of **Pattū** and *pūstīn* was common in Ladakh.[55] But in the hoter regions of Ra jouri, Noushahra, Bahrāmgallā and Punch the people used to wear cotton cloth and the style was resembling to that of the Pun jab.[56]

'Ulama, and eminent scholars put on a black cloak of persian style 56[a] and a turban of white colour.[57]

The headgear varied from place to place. Both Hindus and Muslims shaved their head, but they wore a beared.[58]

Turban was a common headgear but the common people usually put on askull-shaped cap.[59] During winter bag-shaped woollen cap like Russian balaclva was worn by the people.[60] There was no common use of trousers.it was used only occassionally.[60a]. The Tibetans put on a typical type of head-dress of red and yellow colour.[61]

Women folk dressed their hair in plaits and a long clout of dyed wool was attached to the locks of hair,[62] and put on an ornamented head dress called *qasāba*,[63] while the elderly Hindu ladies tied a white handkerchief around their head.[64] Nose ring was used by the women of Ra jouri, Bahrāmgallā and Noushahra.[65]

Shoes made from hides were not used by common people. It was a luxury for them[66]. They used *pulhôre*, a typical type of footwear made from twisted rice straw.[67] Wooden sandles were commonly used.[68] A woollen long cloth called *petāwa* was tied around the calf of the legs in order to protect them from pinching cold winds.[69]

Kānger, a bowl-shaped earthen pot contained in wicker work was a peculiar thing used to worm the body. Hot embers made from tender willow and poplar twigs, and chinar leaves were put into the bowl. The

burnt chaff of grain was also put in it, which generated a head of moderate temperature. Charari Sharif was a famous centre of the manufacture of the *kanger*.[70]

FESTIVALS AND PASTIMES :

"When a Kashmiri, even of the lowest order, finds himself in the possession of ten Shillings, he loses no time in assembling his party and launching into the lake, solaces himself till the last farthing is lost," was the observation of George Forster, who visited Kashmir in 1783.[71] Kashmiri never missed a chance to participate in a festive occasion. Both religious and secular type festivals were observed and en joyed by all the sections of the people.

I'd, Shab-i-Barāt, Nouroze, Dīwāli, and *Dussehra,* were observed with great re joicing, pomp and show.[72] All sections of society participated in these festivals. *Nouroze, Dīwāli* and *'Ids* had become virtually the national holidays. Bonafires, illuminations and *jashins* were surpassing even the excellence of Persian style.[73] A legendary birth day of the River Jhelum on the 13th of Bhādūn was celebrated by illuminating tinny oil lamps on both the banks of river Jhelum.[74] *Dussehra* was a Hindu festival, but the Muslims also participated in it equally. Both Akbar and Jahangir distributed robes of honour upon the Hindu nobles on these occasions.[75]

Besides these national festive occasions, some regional and local religious festivals were also celebrated. The death or birth anniversary of saints and ṣūfis, who were scattered all over the *Ṣubah*, were celebrated with reverence. The annual fairs *'Urs* of the saints like Sheikh Noorud-Din Rīshī at Charari Sharif,[76] Babā jānbāz Wali at Baramulla,[77] Rishi Maloo at Islamabad. Sayyid Ali Hamadāni, and Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi at Srinagar were also held with great reverence and adherence. Hindus also celebrated the annual fairs of Tulla Mullā, Amar Nath, Sind Berārī, and Kokar Nāg.[78] Similarly the annual function of Shah Asrār-ud-Dīn at Kashtawār and periodical festivels in various gompas in Ladakh were also celebrated with great reverence.

The death and birth ceremony of the local saints were almost celebrated throughout the valley. In the course of time these ceremonies turned into annual fairs,[79] drawing people from various quarters.

GAMES AND PASTIMES :

We are not in a position to have a detailed account of the games and pastimes because of the paucity of source material. However, the people took to the following games and pastimes : The hunting of wild ducks and fowls was a common hobby. The bird catchers delighted in taking their boats in the midest of the lakes along with their highly trained falcons. The falcon was left free and it pounced upon its prey in the midest of air and brought it down in the water. The fowls that were caught were cooked and served among the friends.[80]

Polo or choughān was a common game played almost throughout the Ṣubah *by all sections of people.*[81] *It was equally popular in Tibet and kashtawar.*[82]

It is interesting to note that mock battles were fought among the youngsters of different wards of Srinagar in Maisuma ground.[83] *Tipcat, hopscotch, and wrestling bouts were some other games played during our period.*[84]

The Bachī Nagmā was also a common entertainment. The organized ministerls used to sing and dance in the villages and cities.[84a]

HOUSING :

Kashmir has always been praised for its lofty trees, no wonder that four, five and six storeyed buildings were built in wood. The ground floor was reserved for cattle, first floor was meant as family apartments, second and third floors were reserved for household chattles.[85]

Stone, lime and backed bricks constituted the main building material used by the upper classes.[86] Keeping in view the geopraphical conditions, stone was not freely used by the common man.[87] The house roofs were slanting as now to let the snow fall off during the winter months. The roofs were covered with planks, and brich bark covered with fine earth.[88] Tulips, white and pink lillies were grown over it.[89] Rosaries, and orchards were laid out in front of the houses of rich people,[90] and fruits and vegetables were cultivated in the kitchen gardens.[91] The custom of enclosures was not in vogue,[92] but in the course of time the habit developed and mud walls were built around the compounds.[93] Wine yards, and ivy bales with plane and

poplars was the peculiarity of their mansion.[94] Their houses were mainly built on the banks of the Jhelum, and around the Dal Lake.[95] The exteriors of these mansions were highly decorated, but the interiors were not equally beautiful. Lattice work was artistically introduced in place of glass-panes.[96] Most of them owned luxury house-boats and *shikaras*.[97] Other luxurious amenities were also at their disposal. The houses of the common people were constructed in fresh cutpines, fir and cedars.[98] The planks were fastened together and gaps were filled up with mud plaster.[99] The roof tops were covered with paddy straw and reeds.[100] The same style of houses was in vogue in Kashtawar. Banihal and Pakhli, but these were not multistoreyed.[101] But the houses in Little and Greater Tibet were of quite different style. On account of scarcity of timber, stone constituted the main building material and the houses were single storeyed with a few rooms.[102]

The layout of the city of Srinagar was excellently beautiful. It was spread over on the both banks of the river Jhelum. Interiors were linked by canals presenting a picturesque look.[103] The city was densely populated and houses were built close to each other on eitherside of the streets.[104] The lanes though paved with hewn stones, were yet very narrow, and the city was congested.[105] Barāmulla, and Islamabad were two other towns spread over the same river.[106] The towns of Shopiyān, Bi jbehāra, Kashtawār, Punch, and Ra jouri were not congested.

FLOOR COVERINGS :

The lower sections of the society used paddy straw, and mats made from turf of lakes called *pets* (Typhs Sp).[107] It commonly grew in the lakes and marshy lands.[108]

But the dhurries, carpets, gabbās, and other textured floor coverings was the privilege of the aristocracy.[109] Cots and chairs were not used in the valley and Little and Greater Tibet, but might have been in use in the Ra jouri, Punch and other such regions.[110]

UTENSILS :

The peasant household consisted of a few earthenpots, some bowls, and a pair of earthen pitchers.[111] Brass, copper, and other metal wares were used by the upper classes.[112] China wares, saphire and jade dishes and plates were also in use of the privileged class.[113]

STATUS OF WOMEN :

Women en joyed the same positions in society as was accorded to them in Persia, Turkistan, and the rest of Mughal India.[114] The ladies of the upper strata of society en joyed the privileges of an aristocratic society while the women folk in general faced the hard life side by side with their husbands.[115] They worked in the fields, gardens and earned their livelihood from wool spinning.[116] They did not observe *purdah* and moved freely in the streets.[117] They participated in the festivals and fairs.[118] While the ladies of aristocracy and the *U'lama* maintained strict *purdah* and did not go out except in palanquins and litters.[119] They received elementary education from tutors within their own houses.[120] Some of the ladies of *ṣūfis* even managed the *k̲h̲ānqāh* after the death of their husbands. Begam of K̲h̲wā ja Mo'inuddīn after the death of K̲h̲wā jà in 1085/H managed the *K̲h̲ānqāh* and surpassed even men in its administration.[121] It was a ṣūfic belief that women could not sustains the hardships required for emancipation and achieve perfection as Ṣūfi, but Mullah S̲h̲āh Badak̲h̲shī had some women disciples also.[122] Roopa Bhawānī was also a saint and a Ṣufi of her time. She was a disciple of Shāh Ṣādiq Qalander.[123] Ḥowever, the common womaṇ had neither leisure nor the facilities to receive education.

Though Islam has permitted polygamy, but it did not gain currency in the *Ṣubah*. It was not practised by the common people. Even the *zamindārs* who were financially better off did not usually marry more than one wife.[124] But polyandry was quite a common custom among the Buddhists of Ladakh and Askardū.[125] The condition of the women-folk of the valley was comparatively better than those of Ladakh and other hilly regions.[126]

In Ra jouri, and Bhimber, inter-marriages among Hindus and Muslims were quite common.[127] It is very strange to note that in a number of cases, Muslim ladies were buried alive with their husbands after the latter's death. *Sati* among Hindus was also quite common in these regions. Both Jahāngīr and Shah jahān discouraged the inter-marriages and strictly forbade the *Sati*.[129] Inspite of all restrictions, it continued until Aurangzeb's accession. He strictly prohibited the practice and warned the officials to face dire consequences if *sati* was resorted to with their connivance or failure.[130] Child marriage was a

common feature in both the communities in all regions of the *Ṣubah*.[131] Widows had no social restriction to remarry and they were entitled to own property.[132]

Kashmiri beauty had always been proverbial. Fair-complexioned girls with striking and sharp features and a pointed nose had made the 17th century European travellers[133] spell bound as they overwhelmed with fascination all the other foreigners who coveted the possession of the valley. George Forster expressed the same opinion about the womenfolk of the *Ṣubah*.[134] But the ma jority of the common womenfolk who were exposed to the sun and heat were not so charming in looks and were of pink complexion.[135]

The Mughal nobles had a great desire to marry Kashmiri girls.[136] During the Mughal rule so many Kashmiri girls were married to them[137] and many maidens of superb beauty were appointed as maids in the imperial household[138] with various assignments and duties.

It was during this period that the women of Kashmir was exposed to the outer world and in the course of time resulted in the shameful and nefarious practice of trafficking in women and white slave trade.[139]

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES :

It was a marked feature of medieval society that the weaker chieftains gave their daughters in marriage to the powerful ones who obviously happened to be their over lord or suzerain. The chieftains of Jammu, Ra jouri, Poonch and Little and Greater Tibet entered into such alliances even before the establishment of the Sultanate.[140] The same tradition was kept up by the Muslim Sultāns.[141]

Mughal Monarchs in general and Akbar and his successors in particular attached inordinate emphasis to matrimonial alliances. Many Ra jput chieftains offered their girls in marriage to the Mughal emperors and princes.[142] The same policy was followed in Kashmir. Even before the formal annexation, the daughter of Husain Chak was married to Prince Salim. After the conquest many more princesses found their way into the imperial harem.[143] It was not the ruling dynasty of Chaks but the chieftains of Tibet, Rajouri, and Kashtawar were also persuaded to enter into matrimonial relationship.[144] Even the

powerful nobles were persuaded to give their daughters to the princes of royal blood.[145] Such alliances had far-reaching consequences, the rebel chieftains were pacified and befriended to obey the Mughal emperors, and relinquieshed armed struggles against the Mughals.[146] It thus proved a master stroke of imperial policy of winning friends and disarming opposition. Information is lacking as to what role these ladies played in the imperial harems, and how far they were able to effect the imperial policies.

1. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Saltans*, pp. 218-19.
2. See Chapter II and III
3. See Chapter VI.
4. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian system of Mughal India*, p. 212.
   'Potentialities of the Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India', pp. 11-13.
   'Usuary in Medieval India',Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol VI, Number I, October 1963, p. 393.
   For detail, see Chapter VI.
5. *A.N., III*, pp. 578-79, 758, 821.
   Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 211-13.
   Tarikh-i-Fatūhāt-i-'Alamgiri, ff. 21ab.
   University Collection 69/2, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh.
   Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, ff. 205b-6a.

5a. *Khawarikus-i-Sālikin*, ff. 70b, 74b, 74a, 171b, 172a.

6. See Chapter VI
7. *A' in, II*, p. 170.
   Iqbāl-Nāma Jahāngiri, III, p. 565.
   Turuk, p. 300
8. *Tuzuk*, p. 300. Boiled rice was called *"bhata"*.
9. *Tuzuk*, p. 300
   Iqbāl-Nama Jahāngiri, III, p. 565.
10. Dā'ud Mishkāti, *Asrārul-Abrār*, f. 38b, 247 a-b.
11. *A' in, II*, p. 170
12. Kambu, *'Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 28.
    Tuzuk, p. 301.
13. *Tuzuk*,p. 301;
    Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 345-7, 372.
    Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 339.

14. *Tuzuk*, p. 301.

15. *Khawariqus-Salikin*, f. 173b.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 344. Hasan.
Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 63a.

16. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 63a.
Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 471.

17. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 344.

18. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 354-5.

19. *A' in, II*, p. 170.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 437b.
Tuzuk, p. 300

20. *A' in, II*, p. 170.
Tuzuk, p. 300
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, (tr. J.C. Dutt), p. 200
Suka, Raja—Tarangini, (tr. J.C. Dutt), p. 421.

21. *Khawariqu-Sālikin*, f. 966.
Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 64a-b.
Mohibbul, Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 230.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 254.

22. *A' in, II*, pp. 170, 175, *Tuzuk*, pp. 300-1.

23. *A' in, II*, p. 170, *Tuzuk*, pp. 294, 300-1.

24. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 112a. Asrār-ul-Abrār, f. 213a.

25. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, p. 477

25a. *Asrār-ul-Abrār*, 213a.

26. G.T. Vigne, *Personal Narative of a Travel*, etc. II, p. 230.

27. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 531a, mentions that the pulses of mong, moths, blackbeans, white beans, krothi, and lentils were used commonly. See also f.n. 56a.

28. *A' in, II*, p. 170.
A' in, III, p. 727
Tuzuk, p. 301.

29. *Tuzuk*, p. 294.
Kumbu, *'Amal-i-Saleh*, II,
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 417-18.
J.P. Fergusan, *An Introduction to the History of Kashmir*, p. 162. Desideri, *Travels*, p. 78.

29a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 427a.

29b. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 433b.

30. *A' in, II*, p. 172.
Tuzuk, pp. 300-1.
Pelsaert, *Jahāngir's India*, pp. 34-35.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 417b, 418a and 420b.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 46, 73.

31. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 34-35.

32. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 64b.

33. *A' in, II,* p. 170 Kumbu, *'Amal-i-Ṣālih,* II, p. 34.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 415a-b.

34. *Iqbal-Nāma Jahānrigi,* III, p. 565, *Tuzuk,* p. 300

35. *Tuzuk,* p. 300

36. *Tuzuk,* p. 290
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 174

37. *Tuzuk,* p. 290

38. Desideri, *Travels, etc. p. 78*
Moorcroft, Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc.
I, pp. 232-3.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr,* ff. 404, 560

41. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr,* ff. 404a, 415a-b.

42. Ẓaffar, Khan Ahsan, *Haft Masnavi,* f. 8a.
Forster, *From Bengal to England,* II, p. 7.
Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* I, f. 64a.

43. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr,* ff. 436b, 440b.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* p. 96.

44. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* p. 432.
A' in, II, p. 170.
Tuzuk, p. 301.

45. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* p. 432.
A' in, II, p. 170
Tuzuk, p. 301.

46. *A' in, II,* p. 170
Tuzuk, p. 301.

47. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr,* pp. 552a.

48. Pelseart, *Jahangir's India,* p. 33.

49. *A' in, II,* pp. 170-1.
Tuzuk, p. 301. Some modern writers attribute the introduction of this loose long gown, locally called *pheran* to Akbar, intending to make the people of Kashmir lethargic, vigne, G.T. *Travels, etc. II,* 142, E.F. Knight, 2Where Three Empires Meet, 26, Lawrance,, *Valley of Kashmir,* 251. It is quite contrary to the facts *Pheran* was commonly used even before the Mughal conquest, Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans,* 228. As a matter of fact the Mughal monarchs ridiculed this dress, *A' in, II,* 170; *Tuzuk,* p. 301

50. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* p. 185.

51. *Tuzuk,* p. 301

52. *Tuzuk,* p. 301
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 279b, 562

53. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr,* f. 562.

Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans.*

54. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 562.

55. Kumbu, *'Amal-i-Ṣālih*, I, pp. 515-16
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 423-24.*

56. *Tuzuk*, p. 317

56a. Dāʿud Mishkāwti, *Asrārul-Abrār*, ff. 208a, 2321.

57. *Risāla Jahān Ārā Begam*, f. 12
Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, f. 415.
He calls it a cabay.

58. *Tuzuk*, p. 301.

59. Moorcroft and Trebeck, *Travels in Hindustan*, II, p. 97.
Chopra, P.N., *Some Aspects of Society & Culture*, p. 7

60. *Ibid.*

60a. Dāʿud Mishkawti, *Asrārul-Abrār*, f. 221a.

61. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 415-16.

62. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 35.

63. *Qasāba* was a type of handkerchief tied around the head by women folk, *A' in, I*, p. 74.
See also *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*. For further details, see Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 251-52, 262.

64. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 279b.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 262.

65. *Tuzuk*, p. 317

66. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 369a.
Insha Collection 3102, Research Library, Srinagar,
f. 76a.; Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 251-2.

67. *A.N., III*, p. 540; Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 3.

68. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 63. Forster, *From Bengal to England, II*, p. 3.

69. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*,
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 252.

70. Daud Mishkawti, *Asrārul-Abrār*, 207a.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 63b, 112a.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 250.

71. George Forster, From Bengal to England by Sea,
II, pp. 13-17
See also Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 256.

72. *Tuzuk*, p. 305
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā, II*, p. 168.

73. *A.N., III*, p. 626
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā, II*, p. 168
Ṣādiq Khān, *Tarikh-i-Shāhjahāni*, p. 94

74. *A.N. III*, p. 732. *Tuzuk*, p. 311.

75. *Tuzuk*, p. 314.

76. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 165.

77. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 414.

78. *A' in, II*, p. 170-4. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 234-6. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 267-71.

79. Desideri, *Travels, pp.* 72, 315.

80. *A'in, II*, p. 172, *A.N., III*, p. 548
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 271

81. Malik Haider, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 169a.

82. Moorcroft and Trebeck, *Travels in Himalayan Provinces*, I, p. 107

83. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 255.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 232

84. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 255.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 232.

84a. *Asrārul Abrār*, f. 242a. **Infra**, p. 300, 8n

85. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, (N. Elias), p. 434.
A' in II, p. 169. *Tuzuk*, pp. 298-9.
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 297-98

86. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 432-3
Desideri, *Travels*, (tr. *Filipo-De-Fillipi), pp. 72-351.*
Forester, *From Bengal to England, II*, p. 11.

87. *A' in, II*, p. 169. *Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 398.
The temples were built in stone only but the shrines and mosques were of wood only. Subsequently the Mughals Re-introduced the use of stone in civic buildings. See Chapter VII, Section III.

88. *A' in, II*, p. 169, *A.N.,III*, p. 543. *Tuzuk*, pp. 289-9.

89. *Ibid.*

90. Desideri, *Travels*, p. 351.
Bernier, Travels in the Mughals Empire, p. 398.

91. *A' in, II*, p, 169

93. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 11.

94. Desidari, *Travels*, p. 351.

95. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nama*, III, f. 314a-b.
Kumbu, *Amal-i-Salih*, II, p. 33.

96. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 34.
Forster, *From Bengal to England, II*, pp. 11, 36

97. Kumbu, *'Amal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 33.
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 398.
Shikara is a light boat used for common passengers.

98. Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 23.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 249

99. Lahori, *Bādshah-Nāma*, I, p. 23.

100. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 140a.

101. *Tuzuk*, p. 291.

102. Desideri *Travels*, p. 75.
See also Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political, Physical etc. Chapter III*

103. *Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 398

104. Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,III*, p. 33.

105. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 425. Kumbu, 'Amal-i-Sālih, II,* P. 30 *Desideri, Travels, pp. 71-72.*

106. *Tuzuk*, p. 296.

107. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 150.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 306b.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 69.
Wat, **Commercial Products of India**, p. 777
Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 180b.

108. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 180b.

109. *Tuzuk*, p. 301, *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 279b & 562a.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, I, p. 448.

110. *Tuzuk*, pp. 298-99.

111. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 249-50

112. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 557

113. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 561.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 141.

114. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 24.

115. For **comparison, see** Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India, p. 34 and Bernier, Travels in the Mughal* **Empire, pp. 402-4.**

116. Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, pp. 402-4.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 24.

117. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 34.

118. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 34.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 189-90.

119. Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, pp. 403-4.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, pp. 3,4,24.
F. Drew, *Territories of Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 182-3.

120. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 129-30, 168-9.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 227

121. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 168-9

122. *Sakīnatul-Awlia*, p. 153.

123. P.N.K. Bamazai, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 400.

124. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 531a-b.

125. Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, p. 419.
Fillipo-de Filippi, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, p. 135.

126. J.P. Ferguson, *Kashmir—An Introduction*, etc. p. 164.

127. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
Lahori, *Bādshah-Nama*, I, pp. 57-8.

128. *Tuzuk*, p. 317. Lahori, *Bādshāh-Nāma*, I, pp. 57-8.

129. *Tuzuk*, p. 317. Lahori, *Bādshāh-Nāma* I, pp. 57-8
Kumbu, *'Amli-i-Ṣālih*, II, pp. 63-64.

130. *Ma'asir-i-Jahāngiri*, f. 138.
Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhibu-Lubāb*, I, p. 501.
Mohamad Ṣādiq Khan, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahāni-wa-Ālamgiri*, f. 349. See also G.T. Vigne, *Travels, II*, p. 151.
Moorcroft & Trebeck, *Travels in Hindustan*, II, p. 131.

131. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.

132. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 129-30. See also *madadi mash* **grant document Nos, 10 and 24, Research Library, Srinagar.**

133. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 404, 415-17

134. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 356.

135. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 32.

136. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 402.

137. A' in, III, p. 220
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 372-403.

138. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 372-403.
Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, II, p. 328

139. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 372, 403.
Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, II, p. 328

140. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 209

141. *Ibid.*

142. *A.N., II*, pp. 123, 135. *Tuzuk*, p. 68

143. Akbar had also a daughter of the Chak ruler in his *harem*, *A.N., III*, p. 609.
Prince Salīm was married to the daughters of Iba Malik and Ali Raī Zamindar of Tibet, *A.N. III*, p. 609, and daughter of Shamas Chak was married to him in 1588, *A.N., III*, p. 626. Murad Bakhash married the daughter of a *zamindar* of Shahābād parganah, *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 139, *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, p. 269. Prince Muhammad Sultan was married to the daughter of Ra ja Mahā Sen of Kashtahwar, *Akhbārāt, Rajab, 24* R.Y. Prince Muazm had the daughter of Tājud-Dinof Ra jouri in marriage, Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 686, Ra ja Gour Sen gave his daughter to Shah Shu ja, Kumbu, *'Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 445, Lahori, *Bādshāh-Nāma, II*, pp. 434-35.

144. See f. n. 14B supra.

145. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 139. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 269.

146. *A.N., III*, p. 626.

CHAPTER : VII
RELIGIOUS LIFE AND MOVEMENTS

Shiá-Sunni Relation

Background :

As already observed above the state patronage by way of Madadi Ma'āsh grants and stipends etc. was extended to the Ṣūfis, theologians, scholars and others ever since the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir. It attracted many people of significance, erudition and piety from outside Kashmir. In A.D. 1481 Shamas-ud-Din came to Kashmir as an envoy to the Court of Sultan Hussain Shah.[1] He was a votary of the *Nūrbakhshi* belief and he introduced it in the *Ṣubah*. Bābā Āli Na jār, and Baba Ismāil Kubravi became the first disciples of Shama-ud-Din.[2] He remained in Kashmir for eight years but the exigencies of his office did not permit him to propagate his missionary ideas freely and publicly. However, on his return to his native land, he came again with the job of a missionary to propagate the *Nūrbakhshia* ideology. It was during this period that civil war among the sons of Zainulābidin had gravely affected the administration and the nobles were freely indulging to create chaos and confusion. The Chak Clan was gaining importance and in the course of time they laid clàims to the throne.[3] Meanwhile, shamas-ud-Din was able to influence a large section of this clan. In 1540, Mirza Haidar Dughlat conquered Kashmir. Though he allowed Sultan Nāzuk Shah to rule over the land he obtained virtual control over the kingdom. In order to consolidate his position he devised a method to divide the Kashmiris. He prescribed the propagation of the new creed and brought back Dāniyāl, son of Shamas-ud-Din from Askardo. *Fiqah Ahwat*, a treatise by Sayyid Mohammad Nūrbakhsh on the Nurbakhshi theosophy was sent to some leading Indian theologians for scrutiny. It was decreed as an innovation (bid' at;) and on this pretext the Mirza attacked the Chak strongholds. Zadibal Khānqah of Iraqi was burnt and the feelings of the two sections were thereby alienated.[4] Meanwhile Mirza Haidar was killed in an encounter in 1551, and soon after his death Chak rule was established. The Chaks adopted retaliatory attitude towards the Sunni 'Ulama; who were opposed to the continuance of their rule. The Shah Mir nobility was reduced to a subordinate position and the powerful Chak clan and their allies, the Maliks obviously controlled the resources. All these

factors combined to widen the gulf and the powerful Mughals who cast covetous eyes on the *Şubah*, got an opportunity. In 1584-85, a delegation of the Sunnis of Kashmir approached Akbar who immediately mobilised an army under Shah Rukh Mirza and Raja Baghwant Dass and sent an expendition to Kashmir which resulted in snatching power from the Chaks.[5]

The establishment of the Mughal rule subsided the sectarian tension for some time but mutual dislike was still simmering in the die-hards and could have manifested itself in an ugly manner if given the time and expression.

In the course of time the Maliks of Chādoora regained their foothold in Kashmir.[6] In 1618, Malik Haider was assigned *zamindāri* rights and given the title of *Ra'isul-Mulk* and *Chugtāi*.[7] His brother Malik 'Ali was assigned *jāgīrs* and a *manṣab*. They rebuilt the *Khānqāh* of zadibal and Hasanabad. Their influence was increasing day by day. This development caused anxiety among the other sections.[8] Even the *Subahdārs* disliked their interference.[9] Ahmad Bag Khān and Dilāwar Khān tried to poison the ears of Jahangir in order to tarnish their image.[10]

In 1622 a section of Srinagar was devastated by fire. Jamia Mas jid was also burnt. Jahāngir who happed to be in Srinagar directed the royal water carriers under Maliks to extinguish the fire; but they failed to save the mosque.[11] The incident provided an opportunity to intriguers to hatch out a conspiracy against the Maliks. Maliks Nā ji and Malik Haider were alleged to have burnt the mosque in retaliation of the destruction of the *khānqāh* of Zadibal. Jahāngir ordered the Maliks to rebuild the mosque and bear its expenses.[12] It was bitterly resented by the Shi'as and fostered sectarian hatred. Henceforth the sectarian skirmishes took place from time to time.

In 1636, sectarian riots broke out in the city of Srinagar. A certain incident led to the flàre-up A group of vagabonds of both the sections were relishing mulberries at Maisuma[13] when a quarrel broke out amongst them and some of the Shi'as used indecent words about the Prophet and the three Caliphs. In a short-while the entire city was engulfed in the riots. Sunnis attacked Zadibal and Hasanābād, and destroyed the life and property of the Shi'as.[14] Khwā jā Khāwand Mohmūd rose to the occasion and he controlled the situation, but he

demanded the execution of the culprits. Ẓafar Khān, the *Ṣubahdār* did not pay any attention, and the Khwāja left the city in protest and encamped at Ḥaft Chinār. Thousands of his followers followed him. In spite of such a popular demand Ẓafar Khān did not yield. He awaited the imperial orders. Khwā ja Khāwand Muhmūd was summoned to the Court and was not allowed to return to Kashmir.[15]

In 1667, once again sectarian riots broke out. Sheikh Abdul Rashid Chikan, along with his disciples was going to participate in the annual fair of Shaikh Nūruddin Rishi at Charari-Sharīf.[16] When the procession reached Chādoora, Malik Husain, son of Malik Haidar, was at the gate of his house. He did not pay his respects to the pilgrims.[17] Sheikh Rashid ridiculed the Malik and hot words were exchanged.[18] The Sheikh abondoned the pilgrimage and approached Saif Khān, The *Ṣubahdār.*[19] The Sheikh was not satisfied with the enquiry. Meanwhile, *Khufiyā-Nawis* reported the facts to Emperor. The case was handed over the Qāẓi-Askar, and Malik Husain and his servants were executed.[20]

The worst riots took place in 1685-86. There was a quarrel between a businessman and one Abdul Shakoor a resident of Hasanābād on some private matter. Abdul Shakoor was reluctant to pay his debt, so the parties abused each other. The merchant filed a suit in the Court of *Qāzi*, alleging that the debter had committed denunciation of the Prophet's companions, *(Sabbi Suhāba)*, and demanded their immediate execution.[21] Ibrāhim Khān wanted to pacify the parties through the good offices of Mulla Ṭāhir Mufti. But the situation was aggravated, by Murid Khān, Alaf Khān, Mirza Muqīm, Khwa ja Sharif Dehhedi, and Muhammad Sabir.[22] A group of miscreants set Hasanābad to fire. Ibrāhim Khān sent his son, Fidāi Khān, to protect the residents of Hasanābād above cited Afghan nobles took arms against Fidāi Khān. Gunfire was exchanged and innocent people became victims. Mufti Ṭāhir wanted to settle the dispute amicably; but the *Qāẓi* was not cooperative.[23] Muftis house was set to fire along the *Ṣubahdār's* residence. Ibrāhim Khān directed his troops to put down the riots and directed his son to arrest Qāẓi Aslam.[24] When the people came to know this, they gave a stiff resistance. Fidāi Khān opened fire and more than forty people were killed,[25] and ultimately Bāqi Bābā, Hāji Bandi, Khwāja Qāsim, and Lala Ganai were arrested.[26] But Ibrahim Khan was immediately transferred and he was demoted.[27] Thus the objective of Afghan nobles was

fulfilled.[28] However, an enquiry commission was set up and Ibrāḥim Khān was found innocent. But it took more than two years to establish the fact.

Even the rural areas did not remain immune. In Soibug, some followers of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi lodged a complaint of *Sabbi Ṣuhāba* against one Rustum Māntū in the Court of Qāẓi Abdul Karīm. Rustum Māntū was an influential Imāmia Shia. He was executed under the orders of *Qāzi*.[29]

Another incident occurred in the village of Ārwat. The dispute aroused on the ownership of a mosque. The dispute, however, was settled by the personal intervention of *Ṣubahdār* not to the entire satisfaction of Sunnis as he handed over the mosque to the Shias.[30]

Thus the sectarian feelings induced by Mirza Haidar Duglat kept the two sections divided throughout our period and during the Afghan rule, it further intensified. This mental dissention never allowed them to unite, and face the common foe jointly. The ultimate result was the loss of independence.

However, after the annexation the imperial policy was never aimed at the division of the masses. As a matter of fact strict steps were taken to put down such risings. The authorities were never prepared to tolerate any movement which posed threat to the internal security of the Empire. Even high influential persons were not forgiven.

Khwāja Khāwand Muhmūd was externed from Kashmir in spite of his popularity in the *Ṣubah* and influence at the imperial Court.[31] Being a preceptor of Jahān Ārā Begam and a close associate of the Mughal dynasty, the orders were not reversed. Similarly Aurangzēb did not forgive Saif Khān and Ibrāḥim Khān on account of their partiality towards one section. The imperial policy was to maintain law and order in the *Ṣubah* at any cost.

1. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 434-35
Bahāristāni-i-Shāhi, f. 60a, 78b-79a.
2. Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 78b-79b.
See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 112-14.
3. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 220
See Chapter I, Section I.
4. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 434-35.
5. See Chapter I, Section I.
6. Maliks of Chādoora were staunch supporters of the Chaks. Malik Haidar and his brother served Yousf Shah even in Hindustan during his exile. Malik Haidar *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 214-16, *Bahāristāni-i-Shāhi*, f. 212a.
7. Malik Haidar, Malik Ali and Aiba Chak were in Burdwān when Sher Afghan was killed. Aiba Chak also died on the spot. He held the mansab of 1000, *Iqbal-Nama Jahangiri*, III, 518-19 Kewal Ram, *Tazkirat-ul-Umarā*, f. 15. Malik Haidar was only inured. But after the death of Sher Afghan the Maliks rushed to the help of Mehrunnisa the future Nūr jahān. When she entered the harem the Maliks were fabulously rewarded. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 214-16. *Bahāristāni-i-Shāhi*, f. 212a.
8. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 214.
9. *Ibid*.
10. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 214.
11. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 215a.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 124.
See also the Inscription on the main gate of Jamia Mas jid, Srinagar.
12. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 216
See also the Inscription on the gate of Jamia Mas jid of Srinagar.
13. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, pp. 267-8.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 138
Tuhfat-ul-Fuqarā, ff. 287-88.
14. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, pp. 267-8.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 138
15. *Gouhar-i-'Alam*, pp. 267-8
Tuhfat-ul-Fuqarā, ff. 287-88.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 138.
16. Charāri-Sharif is a town 28 miles in the south-west of Srinagar where the saint was buried after his death.
17. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, pp. 287-8.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 165.
18. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, pp. 287-8.
19. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 288. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 165.
20. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 288. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 165.
21. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 291-92
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.

22. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 291-2.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175-176.
Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 175a.

23. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 175

24. *Khāwariqus-Sālikīn*, ff. 131a-b.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 91a.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.

25. *Khwāriqus-Sālikīn*, ff. 131a-b.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 91a. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 176.

26. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 92a. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 175.

27. *Ma'asir-i-Ālamgiri*, trans, Sarkar, p. 69
Ruqa'āt-i-Ālamgiri, p. 31. ed. M.A. Rahman, Kanpur.
Akham-Alamgiri, Inayat Khan, f. 211a.;
Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.

28. Had these noble been motivated by religious sentiments execution of Abul Shakoor, his son, son-in-law was sufficient, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 92b.

29. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 97a, 98b.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 189

30. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, pp. 284-85.
This mosque was captured by Sunnis earlier,
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 163.

31. *Tuhfat-ul-Fuqarā*, ff. 50, 80.
See also Naqashbandi Silsilah for details in this Chapter..

II. ṢŪFI SILSILAHS

RISHI ORDER

Islam was introduced in the *Ṣubah* through a number of preachers and by the middle of 14th century Muslim Rule was established in the kingdom. By this period the entire Middle East, Spain and almost whole of subcontinent was brought under the sway of Muslim Rule. Coming into contact with the ma jor religions of world philosophy did undergo a tremendous change. Many *Ṣūfi* orders were founded in order to provide psychological relief to the afflicted humanity. When Islam found its was into this kingdom, the Ṣūfi orders had already achieved systematisation, organisation and elaboration of ideological concepts and code of ethics. But as elsewhere mystic theosophy could not absolve itself of the essentials of the assimilation of local phenomenon. The cultural and social interaction with the local traditions made at sometimes queer expression. The influence of the Shaiva ideology resulted in the foundation of an indigenous mystic order. The founder of the this oder was Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Rīshī.[1] Due to his efforts and favourable circumstances the order gained adherence in almost the entire kingdom. Its development was a sort of social protest against the committed *'Ulamā*.[2] The order was highly influenced by Shaivite philosophy, and in the course of time the role of *'Ulamāi-Dahar* (the wordly-minded theologians) drifted them towards asceticism.[3] They preferred to live a life of ascetics and had no charm in the worldly affairs. They abondoned marriage and moved from village to village.[4] They preferred to live on dry vegetables and fruits rather than taking up a luxurious life. They did not eat meat and did not marry.[5] They put on a loose long typical type of a dress.[5a] In the course of time they even did not take the basic fundamentals of Islam into consideration, and had legitimatized so many heresies.[6] They did not take into consideration what is moral and what is immoral.[7] According to their thinking the external forms of religion like prayers and fasts were essential for those who were not perfect. Most of them had become miracle-mongers, and as such they interpreted dreams and displayed miracles, and at the same time most of them were devoid of religious and mystic knowledge.[7a]

There were more than two thousand Rishis living during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir,[8] Gouhar Sūfi,[9] Wāhid Sūfi,[10] Ahala Rishi

Baba,[11] Ropi Rishi Baba, Nand Rishi disciple of Hardy Rishi, Net ji Rishi, Pāim Rishi, Āwat Rishi a disciple of Lachan Rishi and Pastī Rishi disciple of Babā Hanif-ud-Dīn were some of the famous saints of the order.[12]

The ascetic and shaivitie approach of Rīshī order was not the correct answer to the expansion of the Shiá ideology, which was gaining momentum on account of patronage of the Chaks. Therefore, the people in general supported various *Ṣūfi* orders but Naqashbandi in particular to face the dynamic personality of Shama-ud-Din Irāqi, his son Dāniyāl and their followers. The new trends at the imperial Court, were also posing a challenge to the tranditional muslim thought. The *'Ulamā* on the other hand wanted to retain the control of the imperial policy. The people in general withheld their support to the order on account of their inclination towards heterodix Islamic thought. Besides there were inherent defects in the order too. It was not oganized like other *Ṣūfi* orders. They had neither khanqahs nor places for congregation where the new entrants could have received instructions. Thus under such pressures the order which was already in disorganized shape collapsed and disintegrated during our period. It could not withstand the social forces inherent in the *Suḥarawardiyā, Naqashbandhi*, Chishtiyā and *Qadiri* orders which were more or less systematically organized and close to the well-received Muslim thought.

THE SUḤRAWARDI ORDER:

This *silsilah* was introduced and reorganized in the *Ṣubah* by Sayyed Jamāl-ud-dīn,[13] rough-ly in the late 16th century, but Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi was in body and spirit its real founder in the valley.[14]

Sheikh Hamza was son of Baba Usmān Raina, descendants of Chandarbansi Ra jputs.[15] He was born in 900 A.H./A.D. 1494. According to the tradition of the time he received primary education in his own village Tu jar. He was yet in his tender age, when he attended the *Madrasah*, Dārul-Shafā of Bābā Ismāil Kubravi.[16] He had a chance to learn at the feet of Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Din Bukhāri who happened to be in Srinagar for a period of six months.[17] But theology, mystic philosophy, and logic were taught by Bābā Ismāil. Bābā Ismāil was himself a follower of Kubravi order.[18]

Sheikh Hamza was externed from Srinagar by Gāzi Shah Chak.[19] But these restriction were no impediments to his religious zeal. After the death of Gāzi Shah Chak he returned to Srinagar and gave instructions to his disciples in the *khānqāh* of Bābā Ismāil.[20] He died in 1576.[21]

Sheikh Hamza had a chain of accomplished scholars as his disciples descending down to ages. Baba Dāūd Khāki, Baba Naṣib-ud-Din Gāzi, Sheikh Ali Raina, Khawā ja Hasan Qāri, Mullah Ahmed Chāgūli Khawā ja Mīr Zooni Rishi, Hardī Bābā, and Ali Teli were his favourite disciples.[22] Baba Khāki and Baba Naṣibuddīn rose to the height of renown and received homage from hosts of people.

During our period the order underwent certain modifications. It counted highly learned personalities among its votaries, but the influence of Rishi ascetics became dominant. The *'Ulama* followed worldly pursuits and as such the order began to disintegrate. As a matter of fact it had ceased to function as a *Suhrawardiya* order soon after the death of Sheikh Ḥamza Makhdoomi. His disciples more or less had their following in rural areas, and were known as *Makhdoom Babas.*[23] The *Bābās* were patronised by the Mughals. Grants in land and grain were lavished on the khānqah of Sheikh Hamza for the maintenance of the disciple and the descendants of the saint.[24] The *silsilah* was comparatively well organised and khānqāhs were built where the saints gave instruction to the new entrants, and imparted religious education to the children.[25]

NAQASHBANDI ORDER :

The order was introduced into the *Ṣubah* by Khawa ja Baba Wali of Khwarism in 1550-91. He was himself a disciple of Sheikh Husain Khwarism.[26] Baba Wali came to Kashmir in 1590 and settled in the *Khānqah* of Sayyed Ali Hamādāni. He attracted large crowds and in a shorter period became very popular.[27] The year 1592 was a period of turmoil and there was a revolt. The rebels approached him with a request as to lead the rebellion. He not only re jected the offer but organized the people against the rising. Meanwhile, Yādgār Mirza had accepted the leadership and Bābā was poisoned under his orders in 1592.[28] After his death the mantle fell on Bāqi Billah, it was Bāqi Billah who introduced and organised *Naqashbandi silsilah* in India.[29] Bāqi Billah remained in Kashmir for two years only, and then returned to Delhi where he died on 20th November 1603.[30]

Naqashbandi silsilah was an offshoot of *silsilah Khwājgan*. It was basically organized by Ahmad 'Aṭa Yasvi. After his death it was revitalized by Khwā ja Bahā-ud-dīn Naqashband, hereafter the *silsilah* was called *Naqashbandi silsilah*.[31]

But the *silsilah* flourished under the guidance of Khwa ja Khāwand Mahamūd. He infused new vigour into the *silsilah* and reactivated and reorganized the order in the *Ṣubah*. On account of his piety and profound knowledge, he exercised considerable influence over the people.[32] Khāwand Mahmud was son of Mir Sayyid Sharif Khawaja a descendant of Alā-ud-Din 'Aṭār.[33] He was an eminent disciple of Khwā ja Bahā-Din Naqashband. Khwa ja Khāwand Mahmūd was himself a disciple of Abū Ishāq Dahbēdi.[34] Khwā ja built a *khānqah* in Srinagar where he carried on his work enthusiastically. He strongly opposed the *Shia* doctrine and under his influence the *Shia* spirit was dampened.[36] He sent a similar mission to Little Tibet which comprised Mulla Abdul Hasan, and Dāūd Kashmiri to check the expansion of the Nūrbakhshi order and to propagate the Naqashbandi *silsilah*.[37] Khwa ja Khāwand Mahmūd was externed from Kashmir in 1636, and he settled in Lahore. His son, Khwā ja Moinuddīn, carried on his mission in Srinagar after the departure of the Khwāja.[38] Khwāja Moin-ud-Dīn was tutored by his father, and in scholarship he even surpassed him. He had Compiled a few books besides the *Mirât-i-Ṭuyiba*, biography of his father and earned among his contemporaries wide publicity.[39] Mullah Abdul Fetah, Mulla Muhammad Yousf, Mulla Abdunnabi, Mulla Sheikh Ahmed Mufti were his close associates.[40] They jointly prepared a treatize known an *Futāwāi-Naqashbandi* under his guidance.[41]

AKHWAND MULLA KAMAL :

Mullah Kamal was a famous saint of the order. He was a disciple of Khawaja Abdul Shahīd Naqashbandi a descendant of Hazrat 'Ubaidullah Ahrari.[42] He left Kashmir and settled at Syalkot, and later he left for Lahore. He died in 1699.[43] Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi and Maulāna Abdul Hakim Syālkoti were his close associates.[44]

KHWĀJĀ HAIDAR NATINOO :

He was son of Khwā jā Feroz. Feroz was himself a disciple of Abdu-Shahid Naqashbandi.[45] Khwā ja Haidar was initiated in the order by Baba Naṣibuddin. Later he became disciple of Maulana Jouhar, but

achieved perfection under the guidance of Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhadis Dehlavi.[46] He remained for a long time in his *khānqah* but after some time returned to his native land, Kashmir.[47] He had a large number of disciples, and Mulla Abdul Hakim became very famous.[48] Khwājā Haidar died in 1649.[49].

MULLA HUSAIN KHABĀZ :

Mulla was a disciple of Sheikh Hasan Qāri, but after his departure Mecca, he attended the *khānqah* of Abdu-Shahīd Ahrāri. He initiated the Mulla into the *Naqashbandi* order.[50] He sternly criticized the *Wajūdi* philosophy, and wrote a treatise *Hidāya-tul-'Āma* to accord a logical rejoinder to them.[51] Mulla Husain died in 1643/44.[52] The following few lines give us an insight into his philosophy.[53]

Besides the above mentioned saints, Shah Qāsim Haqāni, Hayāt Beg and Ha ji Mustafa Roomi were also votaries of the *Naqashbandi silsilah.*

The *Naqashbandi* order flourished in the *Subah* during the Mughal rule. Its sphere was further widened by the efforts of Sirhindi saints. Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Sheikh 'Abdul Ahad Sirhindi, Sheikh M'asum Raza had a large following in Kashmir.[54] They visited Kashmir from time to time and most influential family of the *Muftis* became their staunch followers.[55]

Akhūn Malla Husain Khabāz, Khwā ja Ṣādiq Soodh, Maulana Abdul Rashid Zargar, Maulana Haider Bach and Mahdi 'Ali Sopori were initiated by the Sirhindi saints into the *naqashbandi silsilah.*[56]

THE CHISHTI SILSILAH :

Like the *Naqashbandi* order, this *silsilah* was introduced during the Mughal rule. Accordingly it flourished in our period, but it was not so popular as the *Naqashbandi* order.

It was Sheikh Yăqūb Ṣarfi, who organised the *silsilah* in the *Subah.*[57] Sheikh Yaqub was the son of Sheikh Hasan Ganāi. He was borne in 1520-21 and died in June, 1595.[58] He was very intelligent and had a sharp memory. He committed the holy Quran to memory when he was only seven years of age.[59] On attaining maturity he left for India and widely toured, India, Central Asia, the holy cities of Islam. Madina

and Mecca, in the company of Sheikh Salim Chishti in 1556-57.[60] Before joining Sheikh Salim, he had already got an opportunity to attend the *khānqah* of Sheikh Husain Khwarism.[61] He learnt *Hadis* from Sheikh Ha jar Sindhi.[62] Sheikh Ṣarfi won the title of *Sheikhi-Umam* on account of his profound knowledge and scholarship.[63] Even scholars like Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi learned *Hadiṣ* from Sheikh Yaqūb Sarif.[64] Sheikh Yaqūb Sarfi had a large number of followers. Mir Ahmad was his favourite disciple and was declared his vicegerent and successor by the Sheikh.[65] Mir Ahmad lived a simple life, and possessed but one shirt.[66] Mir Ahmad was invited by Sultan Husain, Chief of Pakhli.[67] He built a *khānqah* also for the Mir. He died on 21st July, 1607.[68] Mir Hamza, son of Ha ji Murād,[69] Sheikh Mohammad Yousf,[70] Sheikh Mūsā Zahgīr, Mulla Hā ji Ganaī, Mulla Ha ji Bandi,[71] Habibullah Noushahri and Mulla Ṭāhir were some of the famous disciples of Ṣarfi.[71a] These saints and scholars kept on initiating their own disciples in continuous process and thus the order continued to expand and flourish.

KUBRAVI ORDER :

Kubravi order was introduced soon after the establishment of Muslim Rule in Kashmir by Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadini.[72] But the order had almost disintegrated by the end of 16th century. Baba Ismāil tried to reorganize and revitalise the *silsilah,* but it did not make much headway,[73] in the face of the growing popularty of the *Naqashbandi* order. Some of the *Kubravi* saints also became the adherants of *Naqashbandi silsilah.*[74]

QADIRI SILSILAH :

This order was intorduced by Sayyid Ismāil Shāmi into Kashmir during 1584-85.[75] The Sayyid was a disciple of Sayyid Mohammad Qādiri.[76] In Kashmir the Sayyid became a close friend of Baba Daūd Khāki.[77] On the request of the Sayyid, Baba Khāki placed Mir Nāzuk Qādiri under his tutorship.[78] Mir Nāzuk Qadiri surpassed his preceptor. Under the guidance of Mir Nazuk Qādiri, the *silsilah* made tremendous development.[79] It was the Mir who revitalized and organized the order.[80] After his death, his son, Mir, Muhammad Yousf, tookover the charge of the headship in 1614-15.[81] He introduced *zikr-bil-jahar* in his daily performances like that prevalent in the *Kubravi silsilah.*[82] Mir Muhammad Yousf was succeeded by his son, Mir Ali Muhammad Qadiri, in 1619.[83] Under his guidance the *silsilah* attained great eminence. He died in 1662-63.[84]

During the reign of Shah jahan, *Qādiri Silsilah* reached its climax in Kashmir through the efforts of Mullā Shah Badakhshī, the preceptor of Dara Shukoh.[85]

Mullā Shah Badakhshī, son of Akhwand Mulla Abdi, was a native of Araksaw, a village in Badakhshan.[86] His original name was Muhammed Shah, but in Kashmir he was known as Akhwand Mullah Shah Badkhshi.[87] After his migration from his native land he settled at Lahore where he was initiated into the order by Miyān Mir.[88] Mulla Shah spent winter at Lahore and summer in Kashmir, but after the death of Miyān Mir he permanently settled in Kashmir.[89] Dara Shukoh built a mosque and a *humām* for him within the walled city of Nāgar Nagar.[90]

After his settlement in Kashmir, his relatives also came from Badakhshān and settled in Kashmir.[91]

Mullā Shah Badakhshi had great influence at the imperial Court. Dara Shukoh, and Jahan Ara Begam were his devoted disciples and he was highly respected by Shah jahan also.[92] Wazier S'adullah Khān also counted among his followers.[93]

On the conclusion of the war of succession, Mulla Shah Badakhshi became a victim of Aurangzeb's wrath.[94] In spite of his considerable influence, he was directed to leave Srinagar immediately on the receipt of the order.[95] He left the valley and settled in Lahore where he died in ab ject poverty.[96]

Mulla Miskin Mughal, Mullah Shah Gadāi, Qāzi Ṣālih, Mulla Abdu-Nabi, Khwā ja Hasan Bach, Qazi Abdul Rahim, and Khwa jā Muhammad Amin Nawachoo, were his prominent disciples.[97]

The Qādiri saints introduced Islam in the far-off regions of Kashtawār during the reignof Shah jahan.[98]

Shah Farid-ud-Din a discendant of Mir Sayyid Abdul Qadir Gilani introduced Islam in Kashtawār. He was born in 1592-93, at Baghdad. He came to India during the reign of Shah jahan and remained at Agra and Delhi for some time.[99] During the same regim he left for Kashtawār and settled in the vicinity of Lakishmi Narain Temple.[100] His presence was soon felt and large crowds attended his meetings. Meanwhile Ra ja Jai Singh the chieftain of Kashtawār heard about the miracles of the saint. he attended his meetings. The Ra ja was so much

impressed by his piety and high learning that he embraced Islam under the title of Bakhtiyar Khan.[101] Farid-ud-Din was succeeded by his son, Shah Asrar-ud-Din. He was brought up and initiated into the order by his father. Raja Kirat Singh who had succeeded Raja Jai Singh was also converted to Islam under the name of Sa'adat Yar Khan.[102] After the death of Shah Asrar-ud-Din, the mission continued to function under the able guidance of Shah Ambiyā-Din and Shah Badr-ud-Din.[103] The latter had a number of disciples in the valley also.[104] He died in Kashmir and his body was taken to Kashtawār and buried there.[105]

It appears the conversion of the chieftain had been instrumental in the spread of Islam in this region.[106]

NURBAKHSHI SILSILAH :

The order though in the process of decline in the period, may be mentioned here as its postulates betrayed mystic learning. We have also discussed it above in the context of Shia-Sunni problem. The order was introduced into the *Ṣubah* by Mir Shamas-ud-Din Irāqi.[106a] As a matter of fact, it was basically a mystic order, bud had close affinity to the Shiá ideology and gradually it came to be associated too closely to the Shiite creed. Iraqi's son, Dāniyāl, introduced this orderin Askardoo and Kargil.[107] All this development took place before the Mughal annexation.

After the conquest of Mirza Haidar, the movement received a setback and its strongholds were destroyed.[108] The movement meanwhile showed disinclination to be a mystic order and turned into a political movement and as such could not withstand the pressure of other political groups.[109]

After the fall of Chak rule in 1586, the Maliks of Chādoora were the adherents and advocates of this sect. During the reign of Jahangir, the khanqah of Hasanābad and Zadibal were rebuilt,[110] but there was no further expansion, only some followers of this sect. lived in a few pockets of the valley and a small number lived in Askardoo and Kargil.[111]

Before concluding the Chapter, we may take notice of the developments which took place within the Hindu population.

By the end of 14th century, there was en-mass conversion and the only section which resisted was those of the Brahmans. They

continued to en joy the benefits of the offices as this was the only literate section. Even during our period they en joyed those benefits without any hinderance.[112] Therefore, there were no substantial changes in the socio-economic life of this section. So far as the philosophy of Hinduism is concerned, it had already achieved a high level of soundness and perfection but its further development was restrained.[113] The Mughal period, therefore, did not witness any change in the Hindu ideology, Ādit Dās, Rishi Pir Pandit, and Roopa Bhawāni, attained tremendous popularity in Hindu philosophy with remarkable aptitude to synthesise the ideological concepts of Hinduism and Islam. Adit Dās joined the imperial Court soon after the annexation. We don't get any further information about him. He died in 1594-95.[114]

RISHI PIR PANDITH :

He was born in 1637 in a fairly orthodox Brahmin family.[115] From his very childhood, he was inclined towards religion. After attaining maturity, he learned Yogic philosophy from Krishnakār.[116] Rishi Pir was a close associate of Akhwand Mullā Shah.[117] The impact of his teachings was quite considerable. But in the course of time he turned to be a miracle monger and taken to luxurious worldly life.[118]

ROOPA BHAWANI :

Roopa was born in 1625. The date of birth given by the biographer of Roopa is 1628.[118a] Her father, Pandit Mahadev Dhar, was a respectable person of his community.[119] Roopa was married in her tender age which proved a failure. She was exposed to tremendous hardships which ultimately pushed her into mystic lore. She was a pupil of Shah Ṣādiq Qalandar.[120] Her poetry is full of mystic experiences. She died at a ripe age of 96 years in 1721.[121]

The impact of these social and religious movements on the society was of quite considerable importance. On one side Islam made its headway in the far flung areas of Kashtawār, Ra jouri, Noushahra, and Little and Greater Tibet, and on the other side it enriched the indigenous culture. Art, architecture and literature of Kashmir flourished and consequently a new social order evolved. We have already mentioned that the state policy was never based on a partisan attitude. So long as the interests of state were not jeopardised no action was taken against any section or individual, but

there was vigilance, and resistance and chastisement if any section or individual threatened the stabiity of the Empire. Khwā ja Khāwand Mahmood, Mulla Husain Subazwāri, Mulla Shah Badkhshi and similar other saints were externed from Kashmir just because their presence was not looked with favour as posing a threat to the interests of the state.[122] The Mughal emperors, as a matter of fact, followed a liberal policy and the individual liberty was never threatened.[123] It is because of such attitude that various religious and social movements flourished during this period. These sufi movements brought together various fragments of the society. The mutual understanding among various ideological groups developed and a new class or group of free thinkers came into existence. This class represented all the sections of the society. Mullah Shah Badakhshi.[124] Mulla Husain Sabzwāri,[125] Shah Ṣādiq Qalandar,[126] Mulla Ṭāhir Ganāis[127] Mulla Mohsin,[128] Roopa Bhawāni, Rishi Pir Pandith,[129] and Sheikh Akmal-ud-Din,[130] were the advocates of this ideology. Ibrāhim Hakāk and Yousf Dīwāna were also exponents of the free thought.[131] They believed in the unity of God and equality of all the religions. They had no bias against any religion. Mullah Shah, Shah Ṣādiq Qalander, Mulla Moḥsin Fāni, Ibrāhim Hakāk and Yousf Diwānā enrolled disciples from all sections of the society.[132] Sheikh Akmal-ud—Din Kāmil, Ha ji Aslam, Salim, and Mulla Ṭāhir, have propounded their ideology through their peotry.[133]

1. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 223-24.
2. Bābā Naṣibuddin Gāzi, *'Noor Nāmā'* ff. 215, 18-219-25b.
3. *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, tr. N. Elias, p. 436.
4. Faiẓi, *Akbar-Nāma*, f. 215b.
5. *Tuhfat-ul-Fuqara*, ff. 62-63. The *Tazkiras* of the saints are full of such examples. When the saints lived for days together on such things. See *Rishi Nāma*, Babi Naṣibuddin Gāzi, etc. etc. See also *A.N., III*, pp. 551-52. *A' in, II*, p. 170, *Tuzuk*, p. 301.

5a. *Khawāriqus-Sālikīn*, f. 173a.

6. *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 436-37.

7. *Ibid.*

7a. *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 436; *A'in, II*, p. 170;
Tuzuk, 301.

8. *A'in, II*, p. 170, *Tuzuk*, p. 301.
Abul Fazl considers them Brahmans, which is not a fact. Though they had ascetic tendencies, but they were not Hindus. See Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 223-224. Miss Āzra Nizāmi in her article on Abul Fazl in Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol III, pp, 125. has followed his statement and has not taken note of either Jarrets translation of *A'in II*,or Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 274-5.

9. *A.N., III*, p. 547. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahangiri*, II, p. 410.

10. *A.N. III*, pp. 549-51.

11. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 118.

12. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 62-63. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 133-34.

13. The origin and development of the order had taken place a long way before the establishment of Mughal Rule in Kashmir. Therefore, no stress had been laid on the origin or development of this order. For the details, see K.A. Nizāmi, *Some aspects of Religion & Politics during the 13th Century*, pp. 220-29.
Tazkira Mullā Ali Raina, ff. 280a-281b.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 106.

14. R.K. Parmu is incorrect in his statement that the Sheikh was founder of Kubravi Silsilah, *A History of Muslim Rule*, p. 434.

15. Mulla Ali Raina, *Tazkiratul-'Ārifin*, ff. 280-81.
Sābir Afāqis,article in Hunar-u-Murdum, Nos 112-13, Bahman, 1350, pp. 73-74.

16. *Khwāriqus-Sālikin*, f. 143a.

17. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 39. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 104.

18. *Khwāriqus-Sālikin*, f. 143a.

19. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 104.
See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 58; Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 534.

20. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 104.

21. The author of *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, gives the date of his death 974/1567 which is not correct. His famous *Waṣiyat Nāma* preserved in S.P. Museum, Srinagar, bears his signatures. This document bears the date Jamādi I, 984/1576, 17th May; therefore, his death might have taken place after this date. The chronogram of Baba Dāūd Khāki supports our assumption, Ṣabir Āfaqi, "Hunar-o-Murdum, Nos. 112-13, p. 73". P.N.K. Bamzai, gives 1586 his axpiry date, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 534.

22. See Chapter VII, Section II, See also Sabir Afaqi "Hunar-o-Murdum," Nos 112-13, p. 73.

23. Lawrance, The valley of Kashmir, p. 221.

24. See Chapter II, Section IV.

25. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 39-40b, 61a.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 106-7, 121,122.

26. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 109.

27. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 109, Rizvi, A.A., *Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, 186n.

28. *A.N.,III*, p. 617

29. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 110
A.A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movement in Northern India*, pp. 185-86

30. A.A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movement in Northern India*, pp. 86

31. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 49-54a.
Nizami, K.A., *Naqashbandi influence on Mughal Rulers and Politics*, cyclostyled article in the seminar, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh.,

32. *Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni*, f. 599.

33. Qazvini, *Bādshah Namā*, III, ff. 417-8

34. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nama*, III, ff. 417-8, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 49a-54b.

36. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 50a, 80a.
A.A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p. 183.*

37. A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist *Movements in Northern India*, p. 183.

38. *Tuhfatual-Fuqarā*, ff. 50, 80
Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 268
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 167-8.

39. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 50, 80.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 168
A.A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movement in Northern India*, p. 183.

40. *Tuhfatual-Fuqarā*, f. 50; *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 168

41. Ibid

42. Qazvini, *Bādshah-Nāma*, III, f. 419

43. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 119

44. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 119
Qazvini, *Bādshah Nama*, III, p. 419

45. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 143-44.

46. *Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahāni*, f. 310a
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 144

47. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 144

48. Mir Ghulam Ali Bilgrami, *Ma'asirul-Karām*, I, p. 204.

49. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 144

50. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 132

51. A MS of the treatise is available in the Research Library, Srinagar.

52. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 132

53. Hidāyatul-Āma, MSS f. 221. پس شریعت عین طریقت است وحقیقت عین شریعت ۔ درخت میوہ معرفت راکہ میوہ وصل است ، چشانہ ازان حاصل است ...... وامید وصل جانان منقطع گردد۔

54. *Tuzuk*, p. 308 *Tahfat-ul-Faqara*, f. 77b
Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 289-5. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 132, 134, 166

55. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqara*, f. 51

56. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 132, 134, 166.

57. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 110
Futuhāt-i-Kubravi, pp. 223-24.

58. Muntakhibut Tawarikh, II, p. 403, III, 148
His date of birth in *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 110, is 978/1570-71, which appears to be a clerical mistake.
See also Abdul Hamid Irfāni, *Irān-i-Sagir*, p. 164.

59. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 110
Futuhāt-i-Kubravi, ff. 220a-b.

60. Badāuni, *Muntakhib-ut-Tawārikh*, III, II
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 110-11

61. *A' in, II*, p. 175 Insha 891/5528, f. 160a
Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU.,
Aligarh, Badāuni, *Muntakhibul-Tawārikh, III*, pp. 143-42.

62. *Insha*. 891/5528, f. 116a. Sulaiman Collection,
M.A. Library, AMU., Aligarh.

63. Badāuni, *Mantakhibut Tawārikh*, II, p. 393.
A' in, II, p. 175

64. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 110
A.A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movement in Northern India*,
p. 206
G.M.D. Sufi. *kashir, II*, p. 363. For details of his literary works, see Chapter VII.

65. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 120

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 130

71. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 128

71a. *Ibid.*

72. The contention of Noorullah Shostari is that Mir Sayyid Ali was a Shia, *Majālisul Moominīn*, 49 which is not born but out by facts. See Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Un Sultans*, p. 58.

73. R.K. Parmu is not supported by contemporary evidence that Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi was the founder of Kubravi order in Kashmir. *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 434, See Supra, 13n of this Section.

74. Sheikh-Mūsā Baldīmari was a famous *Kabravi* Saint of his time. After his return from Mecca he joined the *Naqashbandi Silsilah*, *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 130-1

75. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, ff. 47ab. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 105-6.

76. *Waqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 105

77. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 47b.

78. Mir Nāzuk Qādiri was a descendant of Qāzi Moosa Shahīd, and a great grandson of Qazi Mir Ali, *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 126.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 126

79. *Tahfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 48a.

80. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 43. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 126-27.

81. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqara*, f. 48a. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 128.

·82. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 48a.

83. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nama*, III, f. 424.
Sakinatul-Aulia, p. 167

84. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 128, 163

85. *Sakīnatul-Auliā*, p. 167 Mohammad Sādiq Khān,
Tarikh-i-Shahjahāni, wa 'Alamgiri, f. 110a.

86. *Sakīnatul-Awaliā*, p. 152 *Risāla Jahān Āra Begam*, f. 2. *Tawakul Beg Kulābi*, *Nuskha-i-Ahawāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 6a.

87. *Sakinatul-Awalia*, p. 152.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 41b.

88. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, III, f. 424.
Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, pp. 386-87
Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 6b.
Tahfatul-Faqara, ff. 41b, 42a.

89. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāma*, III, f. 424.
Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 6b.

90. Tawakul Beg, Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 18a.
Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā, ff. 41b.-42a. The mosque is in ruins now. See Chapter VII, and the Plate.

91. *Risāla Jahan Āra Begam*, f. 4. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 42a.

92. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nama*, II, p. 207. See also *Risāla Jahān Āra Begam and Tawakul Beg Kulābi*, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāi-i-Shāhi*, ff. 29a, 44b.

93. Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, II, p. 207.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 162

94. *Tahfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 42a.

95. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 42a. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 162.

96. Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, ff. 13b, 24a, 28b, 37a. *Tahfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 42b. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 654.

97. Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskhai-Ahwāli-Shāhi*, ff. 13b, 37a

98. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqara*, f. 42b. Hutichson, History of the Pun jab Hill States, II, p. 654. For a detailed study read article in "Hamara Abab *Mashahir Number*, 1976-77, Ishrat Kashmiri, pp. 79-93."

99. *Rouzatul-Ārifin*, f. 3a. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II. p. 654. According to Dr Sufi, Shah Farid was born in 1000 A.H./1551 A.D., *Kashmir, Vol II*. pp. 116.

100. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States, II*, p. 654.

101. *Rouzatul-Ārifin*, f. 15a. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 654. Sabir Afaqi, "Hunar-o-Murdum", Nos. 112-13. Bahman 1374, p. 89

Fedric Drew, *Northern Barrier of India*, pp. 82-83.

102. *Rouzatul-Ārifin*, f. 15a. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States;* II, p. 654. F. Drew, *Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir*, pp. 82, 119-20, See also Chapter I, Section II,

103. *Rouzatul-Ārifin*, f. 13a-b.

104. *Tahfatul-Fuqārā*, ff. 13ab. *Rouzatul-Ārifin*, p. 17a.

105. *Rouzatul-Ārifin*, p. 17a.

106. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, I, p. 349.

106a *Firishta. II*, p. 350. *A' in. II*, p. 185. See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 283-88

107. Nurullah Shostari, *Majāli-sul-Mūminīn*, p. 49.

108. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, ff. 119a-120. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Ed. N. Elias, pp. 431-2

109. See Chapter V, Section I. See also Census Report, 1891, p. 17 of J&K State.

110. See Chapter V, Section I, See Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, pp. 213b-214a

111. *A' in, II*, p. 175. See also "Census Report of 1891. p. 17 of J&K State."

112. See Chapter II, Section IV

113. See "*Indian Culture and Social Life etc.*, pp. 152-228," by Prof Muhammad Habib in *Politics & Society during the Early Medieval Period. Vol I*, Ed. K.A. Nizami, People's Publishing House, 1974.

114. *A.N., III*, p. 662. *A'in, I*. p. 166. See also (Blouchmann translation) of *A'in-i-Akbari*, p. 608.

115. Birbal Kachrroo, *Majmu-ut-Tawārikh*. p. 216a. Koul Bri j Krishan, *Bahari, Gulshan Kashmir*. Vol II, p. 44. See also Bri j Premi, Dr., Pir Pandith Pādshah, "Hamara-Abab, Mashahir Number, 1976, 77, pp, 94-109" Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 500

116. R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 222-3.

117. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 500

118. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 500

118a Koul, Pandhith Rughnath, *Sawānih Umri Roopa Bhawāni*, 1772. Bikrami, pp. 7-11. See also article of Moti Lal Saqi in Hamara Adab, Mashaheer Number, 1976-77, pp. 62-78.

119. Prof. Hajini, *Kashir Shairi*, p. 19.

120. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir, p. 499*

121. *Prof Hajini, Kashir Sha'iri, p. 19*

122. *See Chapter V, Section II.*

123. *Angus Maddison, Class Structure and Economic Growth, India and Pakistan* since the Mughals, p. 15, London, 1970.

124. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliā*, pp. 151-3. *Risāla Jahān Āra Begam*, ff. 6-7. See also Section II, Part 'B' of this Chapter.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 161-2.

125. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 190.

126. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 181

127. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 170

128. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 170. Ṣābir Āfaqi "Hunar-o-Murdum, pp. 112-13. Isfandiyar 1374, pp. 79-85". The author of the *Cambridge History of Islam, Volume 2A*, p. 58 states that Mulla Mohsin was a zorastrian, which is not correct.

129. See above footnotes, 115 and 118

130. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 224.

131. *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, pp. 216-17.

132. Ibid.

133. The following couplet of Kamil throws some light on the ideology of the author:

چوں بدیدم دو جہاں سوادلو جہند + چشم پوشیدم دہر۔ ہر دو نظر بکشادم
اکمل الدین یقین ہمیں دارد۔ مذہبش وحدت است ویکتائی

CHAPTER : VIII
LEARNING AND LITERATURE

Since the very ancient times Kashmir had attained fame as an important land for the promotion of learning and literature. It had produced historians like Kalhan, Srivara, Ksemendar, Ratnakar, and Jonar j; philosophers like Abhinavagupta,Utpala and Somanand, dramatists like Abhinavagupta and Udbhatta.[1] But the Brahmans had exercised the monopoly to impart education. The advent of Islam lifted the viel and gates of knowledge were thrown open to the common people. It is true that neither the Sultans nor the Mughals created a separate department of education at the centre or in the province. But the liberal patronage of the Kings and nobles and the tremendous efforts of the Ṣufis, saints, scholars and theologians afforded impetus in boosting the remarkable development of education by opening and expanding *madarsas.*[2]

The mosque and k͟hānqāhs virtually became the seats of learning.[3] Though the primary aim was the training of the pupils in religious literature, Quranic phonetics, theology and logic. The gates were widened for the education of all and sundry without distinction of caste or social status. Consequently, a considerable number of people were able to read and write, which in the long run led to the development of literature.[4] The Mughal rule ushered in a period of great literary and educational activity. It would be apt to make brief notices of some of the luminaries of the period.

These famous teachers were Baba Naṣib-ud-Din Gāzi, Sheik͟h Ismā'il Chishti, K͟hwā ja Hasan Qāri, K͟hwā ja Isḥāq Qāri, K͟hwā ja Haidar Natinoo, Mulla Abdul Razāq Bandey, Baba Ṣāleh, K͟hwā ja Qāsim Tirmizi, Mullah Muhammad Afzal, Abdul Rahim Fafoo, Mulla Ṭāhir Gani, and Muhammad Zamān Nafiā, K͟hwā ja Hasan Tamul,[4a] Maulana Kamāl brother of Maulana Jamāl,[4b] Sheikh Jawhar Nānt,[4c] etc. etc.

SHEIK͟H ISMĀ'IL CHISHTI

Sheikh Ismā'il was a pupil of Maulana Jamāl. After his death, he attended the khanqah of Sheik͟h Nūrullah, a saint of Chishti order.[5] He had a privilege of being disciple of Mir Abdullah Buk͟hāri. After his return to Kashmir, he opened a school and imparted education for a

period of twelve years. He died a few years after Mughal conquest of Kashmir.[6]

KHWĀJA HASAN QĀRI AND ISḤĀQ QĀRI

These two scholars were brothers; on account of their command over the Quranic phonetics they were called *Qāri*. They were the disciples of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi and Sheikh Yáqūb Ṣarfi. Sheikh Hasan took to the teaching profession for a long time. Isḥāq Qāri too served after his brother's death in the same *Madrasa*.[7]

MULLAH HUSAIN (ALIAS HĀJI GANĀÍ)

He lived in the vicinity of Jama 'Mas jid, Srinagar. He was a teacher in the Khānqāh of Malik Jallāl-ud-Din Thākoor. This school continued to function till the establishment of the Sikh rule.[8] (1819-1846).

MULLA ABDUL RAZĀḲ BANDEY

Abdul Razaḵ was nephew of Mulla Fāẓil. He remained in Kabul for long time as a teacher. He adopted the same profession in Kashmir after his departure from Kabul.[9]

BABA ṢĀLEH :

He was a disciple of Baba Nasīb. Baba lived in a cave at village Gogna for a long period where he kept on giving lessons to his pupils.[10]

MULLA ABDUL RAHĪM

He had extensively toured in Bukhara, Samarqand, Bhagdad and India. During the rest of his life he remained in the Naqashbandi khānqāh as a teacher for a long period till his death in 1694-95.[11]

MOHAMMAD ZAMĀN NAFIÁ :

He was the brother of Mulla Ṭāhir Ganāi and a pupil of Mulla Mohsin Fāni. He died in 1709-19.[12]

1. Suresh Chandra Baner ji, *Cultural Heritage of Kashmir*, pp. 3-35.
P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 549.

2. Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, ff. 24a, 37a, *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 120, 121, 135, 143.

3. Dāud Mishkawāti, *Asrārul-Abrār*, 221a, 246a-47b.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 143, 146, 177, 192 and 207.
Nibod Kumar Sahay, *Education and learning under the Great Mughals*, pp. 6-7, 32-33.

4. Ṣabir Āfāqi, "Hunar-wa-Murdum, No 113," Isfandiyar 1350, p. 68. P.N. Chopra, *Life & letters Under the Mughals* pp. 140-1.

4a. *Asrār-ul-Abrār*, 221a.

4b. *Ibid*, 246a-47b.

4c. *Ibid*, 236b.

5. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 120.

6. *Ibid*.

7. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 121.
Sheikh Hasan was buried in village, Shiva, in the Zainagir parganah. See also Chapter VI, Section II.

8. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 143, 282

9. *Khwāriq-us-Sālikin*, f. 132a.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 144.

10. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 146.

11. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 235.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 192.

12. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 207

The Kashmiri language was spoken by a considerable ma jority of people spreadover from Thana to the outskrits of Pakhli.[1] The origin of the language can be traced to as early a period as twelfth century. Pandith Kalhan has also used a number of Kashmiri words in Raja Tarangini.[2] Kashmiri or Koshur belongs to the Dardic group of languages.[3] In spite of such a remote antiquity it remained a spoken dialect only. The best works on philosophy, history, science, art, and literature were produced in Sanskrit and later in Persian.[4] It is quite interesting to note that the lyrics of Lala Ishwari, and Sheikh Nūr-ud-Din Rishi, were written in Sharda or in Persian script, no script of Koshur was evolved in the valley.

There were presumably two important factors which hampered the growth of Kashmiri as a written language. Before the advent of Islam, Sanskrit was the official language and the religious scriptures were also available in the same language. Therefore, it was advantageous to be learnt, both for religious merit and economic consideration; therefore, the elite did not pay any attention towards the development for a natural script of Koshur. Subsequently, the advent of Islam in the *Ṣubah* threw open the gates for Ṣūfis, saints, scholars and adventurists. They substituted the Brahmans and eventually Persian became the official language. It continued to flourish and thrive throughout the medieval period. The Persian speaking people had as a natural consequence, no taste for the local dialect. Therefore, the constant royal patronage to Persian, did not allow Koshur to grow beyond a spoken dialect. However, it still remains a fact that even under such circumstances, it did not die out. But the influence of Persian appears to have increased, and a large number of Persian words side by side the Sanskrit were retained.[5] But in the hilly pockets of Kashtawār and Bānihāl, it remained to some extent unaffected,[6] with a profound influence of Sanskrit.[7] In the north western regions of Dachunkhawura, and Karnāva the impact of Shina continued to be dominent.[8]

Some of the lyrical works of Haba Khatūn, Habibullah Noushahri, Roopa Bhawāni, Ṣāhib Koul and Mirza Akmal-ud-Din Badakhshi have survived to this date in Persian script. These were composed during the *Mughal* period but the manuscripts at our disposal are of later date. A short account of some of these literary figures would be relevant here to mention.

HABBA KHĀTOON (1551-1606):

It is strange that contemporary sources are silent about the marriage of Habba Khātoon with Yousf Shah Chak.[9] However, it is beyond doubt that the lyrics attributed to her are of an innovation in the Kashmiri literature. She was the pioneere of *"Lol"* Love Songs. Her poetry is full of anguish and sadness, of an afflicted heart.[10]

HABIBULLAH NOUSHAHRI (1555-1617)

He was a profound scholar of Persian.[11] He has composed poems both in Persian and Kashmiri. He was a contemporary of Habba Khatoon. Probably both composed poetical works about the same time.[12] As a matter of fact both of them were trend setters in Kashmiri poetry. Habibullah was representing both the Divine and the profane love in his sufistic poetry and the "Lol" songs.[13]

ROOPABHAWĀNI ALIAS ALAK ISHWARI (1625-1721):

The poetess was born in a rich Braḥman family. At an early age she was married to a Pandith, but the marriage proved an uttar failure. She was driven to mystic faith.[14] Her lyrics have a mystic touch[15] expressed in Kashmiri with heavy weightage given to Sanskrit words which have been used extensively.[16]

ṢĀHIB KOUL D. 1642:

A contemporary of Roopa Bhawani reflects mystic lore in his lyrics and simultaneously exhibits deep influence of Shiva philosophy. He had also used Sanskrit words frequently.[17]

MIRZA AKMAL-UD-DIN (D. 1717)

He was a descendant of Abu Nuʿaman Abū Ḥanifa. His ancestors had settled in Badakhshān, hence the epithet Badakhshi was attached to the names of their descendents.[18] His parents came to India during the reign of Akbar. In his early age he had come into contact with Habib-ul-lah.[19] He had been able to en joy the company of Mulla Mohsin Fāni. Kāmil was an expounder of the ideology of *Wahdat-ul-Wujūd*.[20]

He has used both Persian and Sanskrit words frequently in his Kashmiri songs.[21] He died in 1717.[22]

1. *A.N.*, *III*, p. 540; *A'in*, *II*, (Jarret), p. 351 & n *Tuzuk*, p. 317
2. R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 453.
3. G.T. Vigne, *Travels in India*, etc. II, p. 368.
   Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 454-8.
   Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol 8, Part-2, pp. 233-34.
4. *A'in*, *II*, (Jarret), p. 351.
5. G.T. Vigne *Travels in India*, etc. II, p. 368
   Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 454-458.
6. Mohiud-Din Ha jini (Introduction) *Kashir Sha'ari*
   See also *A'in*, *II*, p. 351 and n. (Jarrets note).
7. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
8. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol 8, Part 2, p. 233.
9. Mohiud-Din Ha jini, *Kashir Shairi*, p. 15.
   G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashur*, *II*, pp. 389-90.
   There is a strong tradition about the existence of Habba Khatoon. Besides her love songs, we have a bridge Habba Kadal by name. It is said it was built by her. It is not possible to brush aside such a strong tradition.
10. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 259.
    P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 567.
11. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 128.
12. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 583
    Prof. Mohiud-Din Ha jini, *Kashir Shairi*, p. 12.
13. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 567.
    We have a number of his poems to at our disposal for critical appreciation.
14. See Chapter V, Section II.
15. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, pp. 567-68
    Prof. Mohiud Din Ha jini, *Kashir-Shairi*, p. 19.
16. A collection of her poems is available in the Research Library, Srinagar, in a manuscript form.
    See also Mohiud Din Ha jini, *Kashir Shairi*, p. 19.
17. Mohiud Din Ha jini, *Kashmir Shairi*, p. 16.
    A collection is extend in Research Library, Srinagar.
18. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 224.
19. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 224.
    Bamzai has given the date of his birth 1642 which is not supported by facts. *A History of Kashmir*, p. 567.
    See also Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irani-Sagir*, p. 165.
20. Sabir Afaqi, "Hunar-wa-Murdum, Nos. 112-13."
    Isfandyar 1350, p. 82.
21. Mohiud Din Ha jini *Kashir-Shairi*, p. 18
22. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 224, 258.
    Mohiud Din Ha jini mentions that Akmal used the "Nunda Akmal" as his poetic name. He states that Akmal died in 1720, *Kashir-Shairi*, p. 18.

PERSIAN LITERATURE:

It has been stated above that the Persian was adopted as an official language during the reign of Zainul-'Ābidin.[1] But Sanskrit (Sharda) continued to be language of elite. The official histories of the Sultans continued to be written in Sanskrit. Besides bilingual inscriptions on the epitaphs of the graves and a few bilingual documents also support this assumption[2] of bilingual use.

It was only during the Mughal rule that Sanskrit language completely disappeared from the scene. By the end of the 17th century the Hindus, who had been guardians of learning and literature took to Persian language.[3]

The Mughals were great patrons of Persian. They awarded land and cash grants to the scholars, and poets. The Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. The famous Sanskrit history, Ra jatarangiṇi of Kalhan was translated into Persian by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badāuni.[4] Besides the royal patronage the presence of Persian speaking officials, saints and ṣufis gave a fillip to the spread of Persian literature. Poets and scholars like Ṭalib Isfahāni,[5] Khwāja Moinu-ud-Din Naqashbandi,[6] Hāji Mohammad Jān Qudsi,[7] Mulla Tugrā, Muhammad Quli Sālim, Mir Ilāhi, Inayāt Khān, son of Ẓafar Khān, and many others settled in Kashmir permanently.[8] They had a large number of associates. As such Kashmir turned to be a miniature Persia.[9] Numerous works on literature, philosophy, religion, medicine, and music were produced by the Kashmiri natives. Bernier has rightly observed that the Kashmiris were not inferior to the Persian in medicine and poetry.[10] The role of various sufi scholars also contributed to the spread of this language. A great deal of sufi literature in the shape of *Tazikiras*, eologics and treatises was produced during this period on account of the growing influence of various sufi orders, which had attained almost perfection in Central Asia

Some of the distinguished scholars of our time were Sheikh Yaqūb , Ṣarfi, Khwā ja Habibullah Hubī, Malik Haidar, Akhwand Mulla Kamāl, Mulla Mazhari, Mulla Aw ji, Mulla Yousf Chachak, Mulla Zehni, Mulla Nadimni. Mulla Mohsin Fāni, Mulla Ṭahir Gani, Baba Dā'ud Mishkwāti, Baba Naṣibud-Dīn, Mirza Dārāb Joyā, Akmal-ud-din Badkhshi, and Narain Koul Ā jiz. A brief notice of some of the native scholars and their works is given here.

SHEIKH YAQŪB ṢARFI

The genius, scholarship, and keen intellect of Sheikh Yaqūb Ṣarfi was well recognized even during his life-time.[11] He had been a pupil of Sheikh Salim Chishti and Sheikh Ahamad Sarhindi.[13] He was the author of an introduction to Faiẓi's *Tafsir* entitled *Sawāt-i-ul-Ilhām*,[14] the commentary to *Sahih Bukhari* and composed the *Maslakul-Akhyār, Wāmiq ʿAzāra, Laylā Majnūn, Magāzi-un-Nubwah, Manāsikul-Haj, Manāqibul Awliya* and a collection of Quatrains, *Qasāid* and a *diwān* of *ghazals*.[15] He remained in the court and left it in 1595 A.D. for his home where he died in August.[15a]

HĀJI MUHAMMAD KASHMIRI d. 1597-98

Ancestors of Hā ji Muhammad had come along with Sayyid Ali Hamadāni and settled in Kashmir.[16] Hā ji was born in Kashmir and was tutored by Sheikh Muhammad Bāqi Naqashbandi of Delhi.[17] He was a prolific writer and teacher. The following well-known works are ascribed to him: *Sharhi-Shumāil-un-Nabi, Faẓāilul Qurān, Sharhul-Mujarad, Khulāsah Kitābul Awẓa'a Fī Bayān-i-Maẓhabul-ʿArba*.[18]

Habib-ullah Noushahri

He was a prolific scholar of Persian as well as of Kashmiri. Hubī was a pupil of Ṣarfi. *Tanbihul-Quloob*, and *Raht-ul-Quloob* were his most valuable works on Ṣufism. He had composed a *Diwān* also.[19]

Baba Naṣibud-Dīn-Gāẓi

Baba was a pupil of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomī and Baba Daud Khāki. He has translated an earlier biography of Sheikh Nūr-ud-Dīn in Persian verse known as *Noor Nama*. He died on 28th May, 1638.[20]

Malik Haidar

He was an associate of Yousf Shah Chak and accompanied him during his exile to Hindustan. He was an architect and a statesman at the same time. But he is famous as historian. He compiled *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, during the reign of Jahangir.[21]

Mulla Maẓhari Kashmiri

Maẓhari was a native of Kashmir, but he remained in Iraq for a very long time.[22] He was able to en joy the company of Muhtashim Kāshi,

and Wahshi.[23] After his return to the motherland, he was appointed as Mir Bahri by Akbar in 1595. He had composed a *diwān* comprising 6000 verses. Mulla Mazhari died in 1609.[24] Here is a translation of a few of his verses :

"What lovely look lay in Layla's eye.
That Ma jnūn shut his eyes to friends and
strangers."
Like a tail I follow my own selfish heart
Though the road is not bad, I made myself footsore
Though I break through a hundred scenes
I cannot step out of myself, I wander over a
Hundered stages and am still at old place."

Mulla Nadīmī

His name was Mohammad Ṣāleh and Nadīm was his pen-name. Nadīm was a pupil of Mulla Zehni. He has composed thousands of verses in lucid Persian style.[25]

Mulla Mohsin Fānī

Fānī a philosopher-poet was the son of Sheikh Hasan Ganāi. He was a pupil of Ṣarfi.[26] After his teacher's death he left for Balkh and joined the service of Nazr Mohammad Khān. But he soon returned to India.[27] Shah jahan appointed him Ṣad'r of Ilahabad. On account of his liberal thinking, he was elevated to the company of Dārā Shukoh.[28]

He has composed a *Diwān*, an autograph copy of which is available in the Pun jab University (Pakistan).[29] His poetry has a mystic trend.

Mulla Tāhir Gani

The Mulla belonged to a reputed 'Ashāi' family of Kashmir.[30] At the age of twenty he commenced composing verses in a lucid Persian style.[31] His fame spread as far as Persia. Mirza Ṣāib was so much influenced by his style that he came to Kashmir to meet him.[32] Mulla Ṭāhir never attended the Court of any prince nor did he write any *Qasida* in praise of any dignitory.[33] This verse of Gani (in translation) testifies to his bent of mind :

"The world's wealth, Gani cannot blot one's fault.
For all gold's scratchings, still the touch stone is black."

Baba Dāūd Mishkwāti

He was a disciple of Baba Naṣibu-ud-Dīn Gāzi and learnt logic and tradition from Sheikh Haidar Charkhi.[34] He had a profound knowledge of 'Arabic and Persian. *Tazkira Asrārul-Abrār* and a biography of the *Ṣufis* of Kashmir are some of his famous works. He has rendered *Mantiqut-Ṭair* of Sanāi into his own persian verse.[35]

Nārayan Koul Ājiz

By the end of the 17th century Persian language had completely replaced the Sanskrit. The Brahmans, an intellectual class also took to Persian to enter the government services. Nārayan Koul 'Ā jiz was one of the first Kashmiri Pandiths who excelled in the Persian literature. He is the author of the *Mukhtaṣar Tawārikh-i-Kashmir.*[36]

Chief characteristics of the Persian works both in prose and verse, composed by the Kashmiri scholars, and poets may include the mystic trend, lucid style, verse of high order and portrayal of the natural beauty of the valley. One important trait of the Persian poetical works which were ; composed by the native poets consists of the composition or versification of the famous works of classical Persian poets, under the same respective titles by the Kashmiri poets of Persian for instance Sheikh Yāqūb Ṣarfi wrote *Khamsa* on Maulāna Jāmi's pattern,[37] Baba Dāūd Mishkwati the *Mantiqut-Tair* on the model of Sināis famous work under the title of *Asrār-ul-Ashjār.*[38]

Persian Historiography

The art of history writing was not new to the people of Kashmir. Kalhan's *Raja Tarangini* was a trend setter and proved to be a guide book for future historians in Kashmir in so may respects. But in the course of time on account of civil wars the art of historiography also decayed like other achievements of the period. After the establishment of Muslim rule we do not get any clue of contemporary historical works, though it is often repeated by the 16th and 17th century historians that a couple of histories were written during the Sultanate period. But the Mughal period is rich so far the historical works are concerned. The following are the famous extent works. *Tārikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haider Chādoura, *Bahāristāni-Shāhi* by some anonymous author, *Mukhtasar-Tawārikhi Kashmir* by Nārayan Koul 'Ā jiz.[39]

1. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 255.
2. The works of Jonaraj, Shirivara, and Suka are in Sanskrit. The bilingual *Waṣiyat Nāma* of Sheikh Hamza is available in S.P.S. Museum.
3. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 551.
4. *A'in*, (Blochmann translation), p. 104.
   Badāuni, *Muntakhibut-Tawārikh*, II, p. 374.
   Tuzuk, p. 297.
5. *Tuzuk*, p. 286.
   Ma'asir-i-Rahimi, p. 1260.
   Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 190a.
   Binod Kumar Sahay, *Education & Learning Under the Great Mughals*, pp. 2-3.
   Tuhfat-ul-Fuqarā, ff. 50, 80.
6. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 167-68.
7. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 150.
8. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 150, 151, 152, 154, 172.
9. Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāma*, III, p. 3301.
   Bernier, *Travels in Mughal India*, p. 402.
   G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashmir, II*, pp. 446-8.
   Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irān-i-Ṣagir*, p. 59.
10. Bernier, *Travels in Mughal India*, p. 402.
    See also Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāma III*, f. 330a.
    Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma, I* (II), p. 55.
11. *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, (Blochmann translation), pp. 651-52.
    Badāuni, *Muntakhibut Tawārikh, II*, pp. 259, 393, 403.
    Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, p. 391.
    Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I (II), p. 55.
12. *Tabqāt-i-Shāhjāhani*, ff. 253-54.
    Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 110-11.
    See also *Insha* Collection 891, 5528, Sulaiman Collection, f. 160a; Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
13. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 110-11.
14. Badāuni, *Muntakhibut-Tawārikh*, II, p. 393.
15. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 110-11.
    See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 256-7.
    G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashmir, II*, p. 363.
    Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irāni Ṣagir*, pp. 154-60.
    Ṣabir Āfāqi, "Hunar-wa-Murdum, Nos. 112-13,"
    Isfandyar, 1350, pp. 74-76.

15a. *Muntakhabut-t-Tawārikh*, (tr. Low)
     Vol II, p. 417.

16. Ṣabir Afaqi, "Hunar-wa-Murdum, Nos. 112-13."
    Isfandiyar, 1350, pp. 76-77
17. *Tabaqāti-Akbari*, p. 391; *Tabaqāti-Shāhjahāni*, f. 225b.
18. Ṣabir Afaqi, "Hunar-wa-Murdum," p. 76

19. For his life history, see Kashmiri poetry in this chapter. See also *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 132.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irani Sagir*, p. 167.

20. See Chapter V, Section II. Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irāni-Sagir*, pp. 109-146-49.

21. Supra p. 38 and n. 7, p. 208 and N 6 & 7
See Note on Sources. (Introduction)

22. Amin Ahmad Rāzi, Haft *Iqlim, II*, p. 114.
Tabagāt-i-Shāhjahāni, f. 280b.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 136.

23. *A'in* (Blochmann translation), p. 654.
Budāuni, *Muntakhibu-Tawārikh, II*, p. 417.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.

24. Amin Ahmad Rāzi, *Haft Iqlim, II*, p. 114
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.
G.M.D. Sufi *Kashir, II*, pp. 459-60.

25. *Waqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 154-57.
G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashīr, II*, pp. 447, 471.

26. *Waqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 170.
G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashīr, II*, pp. 365-66.

27. Sabir Āfaqi, "Hunar-wa-Murdum," Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irani Sagir, pp. 79-80.

28. *Waqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 170.

29. Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, III, pp. 426-27.
Abdul Hamid Irfāni, *Irani Sagīr*, pp. 159-60.
Dabistani Mazahib, a treatise on comperative religion is attributed to him which is a controversial issue among various scholars. See the *Cambridge History of Islam, Vol 2A*, p. 58.

30. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 171

31. *Ibid.*

32. G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashīr, II*, p. 452.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irani-Sagir*, pp. 60-61

33. G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir, II*, pp. 452-55.
P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 561.
See also Prof Shaida, M.A., "Hamāra Adab, Mashaheer Number," 1976-77, pp. 341-376. His *diwān* has also been edited by Ali Jawād Zaidi and published by Academy of Art and language Kashmir, 1964.

34. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 176.
Sabir Afāqi, "Hunar-wa-Murdum, Vol 112-13," p. 80.

35. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 176. *Asrārul-Abrār* is available in Research & Publication Division, Srinagar.

36. See Note on the sources.

37. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 111.

38. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 176.

39. See for further details the introductory Chapter on sources and also bibliography..

CHAPTER : IX

FINE ART

ART, ARCHITECTURE AND GARDENS

The Mughals were great builders indeed. They raised magnificient palaces, forts, mosques, tombs and laid out gardens throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Their monuments and gardens still retain their magnificence and grandeur. The Valley of Kashmir was also studded with beautiful monuments and gardens by the Mughal Emperors and their nobles. But it is astonishing that most of the monuments have perished in the course of time, except a few gardens, inns, a few mosques, a couple of shrines and Ramparts of the Nāgar Nagar fort. It appears, the cause of this whole-sale destruction was the negligence during the oppressive rule of the subsequent dynasties. The conflagrations, earthquakes, and climatic conditions were not less responsible for this decay.

I. Architecture

The wood constituted the primary building material of the mosques and shrines, but the royal palaces, inns and mosques built by them were exclusively in lime and stone over a core of brick work.[1] The art of stone building was revived by the Mughals, which was almost forgotten by the Kashmiris.[2] But its influence remained confined to the imperial architectural activity. The indigenous wooden architecture of Kashmir flourished uninterrupted, imbibing no influence from the Mughal style.[3] This wooden architecture of Kashmir has its own peculiarities in spite of its resemblence to that of Scandinavian countries, and Tyrol of Australia. It has been least influenced by the Buddhist Pagodas. Prof. Mohibbul Hasan has rightly observed that there was not a single Buddhist Pagoda at the advent of Islam in Kashmir.[4] The Pagoda architecture is quite different.

It is also quite significant to note that notwithstanding the highly skilled craftsmanship, Kashmiris were not wellversed at joinary work. That is why they used to put the logs on each other and the gaps were filled with brick, stone, and lime.

The architecture of our period can be divided into two sections. The stone architecture, and the wooden architecture. Nāgar Nagar fort, Pather Masjid, Mullah Akhwand Shah Mosque, and *Sarāis* are the living examples of the stone architecture, while Khānqah Mu'allā,

Jamia' Masjid, Srinagar, mosque at Shopiyan, Hazrat Bal mosque, and a number of tombs were the remains of holy saints are enshrined, represent the wooden architecture.

1. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 23.
2. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Muslim Period)*, pp. 83-86.
3. James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, II*, pp. 333-34.
4. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 269.

Nāgar Nagar Fort

Kohi Mārān had a considerable importance of the defence of the city of Srinagar. It is on account of this importance that the Mughals laid out a well-fortified and magnificent city. During his first visit, Akbar directed Yousf Khān Rizvi to construct houses for the soldiers. They were forbidden to occupy private houses.[1] By 1597, a large number of houses had been built and barracks were also constructed for the soldiers.[2] In 1597, Akbar directed Mohammad Quli Khān *Ṣubahdār* to dismantle the mud-wall and construct a strong fort of stone there. The foundation of the fort of Nāgar Nagar was laid in 1597 and the construction was completed sometimes after 1606 at the cost of 1,10,00,000 rupees.[3] The construction work of the fort was divided into segments, each portion was entrusted to a noble so that the completion might be affected within the shortest period.[4] Then attention was drawn to constant improvements and new palaces were added to inside the fort for long.[5] Jahāngir in his first visit after accession renovated the palace and an art gallery also was built in it.[6] He spent 10,000 rupees for an aquiduct, but the idea was later dropped,[7] and the construction was left incomplete. It is astonishing to note that there is not a single building existing in tact nor the ruins of the palaces are traceable. But the main gate known as Kāthi Darwāza, and the dilapidated Bāchi Darwaza are extent. Kathi Darwāza is a structure highly expensive, ornate and stoutly built. Its elevation consists of well built-arched recess. There are gateways on each side. It is significant to note that the Mughals who had excelled in stone architecture throughout their kingdom had not been able to build a fort of such magnificence in this *Ṣubah*.

The only existing piece of this fort is the main gate known as Sangin Darwaza also. There is no symetrical use of stones. The measurement of all the stones used in this structure vary from one and the other.

It appears that the construction of the fort was taken in a hurry due to the hostile attitude of the nobles of the *Ṣubah*. It has a colossol rampart all around with many small niches and recesses. A stair also leads up to roof. Bāchi Darwāza is now in ruins.[8]

Pather Masjid

Pa<u>th</u>er Masjid or Nav Masjid was built in 1623 under the supervision of Nūrjahān Begum.[9] It is situated on the left bank of the river Jhelum directly opposite of the <u>Kh</u>ānqah-i-Mu'allā. It was built in pure granite polished stone, with a length of 180 feet and breadth 54 feet. The style is quite simple and lacking in any kind of ornamentation. The interior is divided into three passages by two rows of massive stone arches. The roof of each compartment is artistically ribbed and vaulted. The Facade consists of 8 massive arches with a large elegant central arch. In simplicity and layout in resembles the Moti Masjid of Agra. But the central dome appears to have been destroyed in the course of time. The external wall of the compound is purely of masonary work in lime and bricks baked by fire. The eastern gate on the river side has been rebuilt recently, but the old wooden door panels along with the frame has been preserved in it. The carved floral designs on the door depict the real artistic skill of the Kashmiri artisans.

The Turkish bath and *Madrasah* built by Fazil <u>Kh</u>ān in 1697-98 are not now traceable.[10]

Mulla Ak<u>h</u>wand Shāh Mosque :

It is situated near the shrine of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi. It is most neglected monument and in ruins now. The domes and minarets are in a dilapidated condition and the raised verses of the Qurān have been defaced, yet it is a living example of the Mughal architecture. It was built in 1649 by Dārā Shukoh for his preceptor Mulla Shah Badak<u>h</u>shi.[11]

The mosque has a typical layout. It is, as a matter of fact, a mosque within mosque, built in polished granite stone. In finish and technique, it surpasses all the Mughal monuments. The exterior wall has six engrailed windows on the north and the south. Main-gate, now closed, lies in the east. The lotus dome ever the *Mehrāb*, now dilapidated, appears to have been of great architectural importance.[11a] The Turkish bath is in ruins.[11b] It is purely a masonary work in bricks and lime. The mosque is the only example which had a stone lotus finial over the pulpit, but is not available now. It appears to have been a residential mosque as there are many small rooms for the inmates.

Jami'a Masjid

The mosque represents both the stone and wooden architecture of Kashmir. It is rather a synthesis of Mughal and Kashmiri architecture.

Originally the mosque was built in 1400 by Sultan Sikandar, but it was devastated by fire on a number of times.[12] In 1622, while Jahangir was in Kashmir, the mosque was completely destroyed.[13] He directed Malik Haidar to rebuilt the mosque. It was again destroyed during the reign of Aurangzeb, but was again restored.[14] The massive arched gateway is built in stone and bricks. The building consists of a courtyard surrounded by wide colonnades. The outer wall is of masonary work having projecting entrances on all the three sides. The interior of the building contains a large amount of wood work. There are about 378 wooden ornamented posts of 25 to 50 feet in height.[15]

Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā

The Khānqāh is the best example of the typical wooden architecture of Kashmir. Sultan Qutubud-Din had great reverence for Sayyid-'Ali Hamadāni and built this mosque for the saint.[16] It was destroyed twice by fire in 1479 and 1731, but was again restored.[17] The present *Khānqāh* was built in 1732 by Abdul Barkāt Khān.[18]

It is a 70 feet square building two storeys in height. It stands on the right bank of the Jhelum on an irregular masonary foundation of an old temple. Its three tiered pyramidal roof surmounted by the open pavilion for *Mu'azzin*, over which rises the steeple with 125 feet high finial from the ground, is of considerable interest. The interior lower hall is 63 feet long and 43 feet broad. In the centre there are four eight-sided ornamented posts supporting the second storey. The panelled walls and painted ceilings in multi-coloured designs add to the grace of the hall.[19]

This pattern of architecture can be found in all the shrines, *Khānqāhs* and mosques which were built during our period. The *Khānqāh* at Sopore, Baramulla, and Sopiyan are virtually replicas of Shah Hamdān mosque. The shrines at Charari Shareef, Hazratbal and so many other shrines scattered all over the Ṣubah are also in the same style. There is hardly any difference of the architectural design, or ornamentation in these buildings.

In the course of time this style of architecture was introduced in Little and Greater Tibet also. The mosques which were built in this region during the Mughal rule represent the provincial style. But the scarcity of wood did not allow the style to flourish on a large scale. It remained confined only to the mosque architecture.

Shigar mosque is a replica of Khanqāh-i-Mu'allā. The facade of the building facing the east consists of a portico as high and wide as the main building. There are three doors of saracenic style in it. Towards the south, there is a gallery of very pleasing design. The centre of the roof has square aperture with a little columned superstructure, surmounted by a curious pinacle. The gaps and openings are filled with sundried bricks. The inner chamber of the building is rectangular with four pillars supporting the ornamented capitals. The exterior walls have lofty windows closed by ornamented lattice work.

The mosque at Leh Known as Kashmiri mosque is also in the same style.

We have already mentioned that during the Mughal rule a number of inns sprang up along the trade routes. The inns at Khāmpūra, Chingas, Rajouri, Saidābād and Bhimber have survived up to this day, but have lost all magnificance and grandeur. These inns have almost a resembling architectural pattern. Each *Sarāi* has two broad divisions, one for the *harem* and other for the Emperor. A couple of sleeping chambers adjacent to the big halls, a mosque and a Turkish bath are the peculiarities of these wayside inns. There is an open courtyard encircled by massive stone walls built in stone, lime, and bricks representing the typical Mughal architecture.

The Sarāis of Chingas and Saidābād are fine specimens of this architectural style.

Saidābād Sarāi is a large square building divided into three divisions : well built vaulted small sleeing apartments are on all sides. The mosque and a separate rectangular hall lie in the east. There is no passage link between the main building and this hall.

Chingas Sārāi is more elegant and ornamented. However, it falls within the same architectural pattern.

1. *A.N., III*, p. 543.

2. *A.N., III*, p. 726.

3. *A.N., III*, pp. 726-27, 733, *Tuzuk*, p. 302.
Iqbāl Nama Jahāngiri, II, p. 454.
Fredric Augusts, *Akbar II*, pp. 215-16
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 118, and Anand Koul, *Archaeological Remains in Kashmir*, p. 88, have wrongly given the date of completion 1006/1597. R.K. Parmu has also raised an unwarranted controversy over the date of foundation and the rational behind the construction of this fort. When it is clear both in *Akbar Nama*, III, pp. 726-27, and on the inscription of the Sangin Darwāza, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 299-301. The fort which crowns the hillock of Kohi Mārān was built by Atta Mohammad Khān, an Afghan Governor of Kashmir, Birbal Kachroo, *Majmūt-Tawārikh*, f. 246a. Percy Brown is not correct in his statement that the new fort is a replacement of the original citadel of Akbar, *Indian Architecture, (Muslim Period)*, p. 88. Outer wall of the Mughal fort encircled whole of the hillock.

4. *A.N., III*, p. 726-27. According to the local source the construction was supervised by Looli Najār a highly skilled carpenter of Kashmir, *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 252. But the Mughal sources are silent and as per inscription it was Mir Muhammad Husain who was supervising the work.

5. *Tuzuk*, p. 302.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Palesaert, *Janhangir's India*, p. 34.

8. Percy Brown suggests that Kāthi Darwāza was main gate of the fort, *Indian Architecture*, (Muslim period), p. 88.

10. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 296.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 190.

11. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, pp. 116-17.

11a. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, (Muslim Period)*, p. 88. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 588.

11b. The inscription above the door of the *hamam* is interesting and the chronogram helps us to fix the date of construction i.e. 1059 A.H./1649 A.D.

12. *Tuzuk*, p. 298.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 269-70.

13. Malik Haidar *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 215a.
Tuzuk, p. 301.
See the inscription on the main gate of this mosque also.

14. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 166.

15. See for the details, Prof Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 269-70. See also Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic period)*, pp. 87.

16. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 56.

17. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 244.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, (Islamic Period), pp. 87-88.
James Fergusson, *History of Eastern and Indian Architecture, II*, pp. 333-34.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 269-70.

III. CALLIGRAPHY

Calligraphy and elegant lettering was an art cultivated and valued highly and sometimes treated with greater respect than the art of painting in the Muslim world.[1] It had attained perfection in the Islamic world well before the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir.[2] *Kūfī* and *Naskhī* styles were very popular. The *Kūfī* style was popularised by the Umayyads while Naskhi flourished under the Abbasides.[3]

Soon after the establishment of Islamic rule in the kingdom of Kashmir, the art of calligraphy developed tremendously. In the course of time a distinct Kashmiri style was evolved.[4] An unwashable ink and unique tints were discovered by the artists.[5] After the fall of Sultanate, the Kashmiri artists entered the imperial service and in the galaxy of artists they retained their individuality.[6]

The art of illumination, border decoration and illustration was at its highest pitch during the reign of Akbar. The Kashmiri artists also excelled in this art. The floral designs were most convenient for the religious scriptures.[7] The designs abound in the various works of the period. The Kashmiri artists had achieved mastery in *Kūfī*, *Nastʿālīq* and *Shalgami* besides Kashmiri *Qalam*[8] The art of calligraphy was considered a noble profession. A number of scholars earned their livelihood by scribing the holy *Qurān*.[9]

Mohammad Husain Kashmiri was a famous calligraphist of our period. He was given the title of *Zarrīn Qalam* by Akbar.[19] In the art of calligraphy he even surpassed his teachers, Maulāna Mir ʿAli and Abdul Aziz.[11] His skill was acknowledged by all the calligraphists of the period.[12]

ʿAli Chaman was another famous Kashmiri calligraphist who excelled in the art at the imperial Court.[13] Mullā Habīb Ganāī, a famous scholar of his time, was a calligraphist also. His *Nastʿāliq* style was unique.[14] Hāji Bahrām was his contemporary. His scribed *Qurāh* could bring an enormous amount of 10,000 tankas.[15] Mulla Mohammad a pupil of Mulla Mir Husain Zarrīn Qalam,[16] adpoted *Shalgami* style while his teacher had excelled in *Bādāmi* style. Mulla Mohammad joined the Court of Shahjahān and was given the title of *Zarrin Raqam*. The inscriptions in various imperial buildings were scribed by him. His elder brother, Mulla Muhsin, was also an eminent calligraphist and was styled as *Shīrīn Qalam*.[17]

1. *A'in*, p. 103 (tr. Blochmann).
2. M.S. Dunand, *A Handbook of Muhammadan Art*, p. 67, 2nd Edition, New York, 1947.
3. M.S. Dunand, *A Handbook of Muhammadan Art*, p. 67.
4. *A'in*, (Blochmann tr.) p. 103.
   Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 265-6.
5. G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir, Vol II*, p. 556.
6. *Tuzuk*, p. 44.
   Percy Brown, *Indian Paintings Under Mughals* (1550-1750), p. 123.
7. Lachi Ram Kashmiri, *Khulāsatul-Inshā*, f. 25b.
8. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 170-71.
   Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irāni Ṣagīr*, p. 163.
9. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 135.
   See also *A'in*, No 34, (Blochmann) Chapter on the art of writing and paintinig, pp. 102-113.
10. *A'in*, (Blochmann), p. 109. Nawal Kishore Ed. p. 76
    Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136
    See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 265-6.
11. *A'in*, (Blochmann), p. 109. Maulana Mir 'Ali was official scriber of Husain Shah Chak, *Waqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 115. See also G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir, II*, p. 568.
12. *Tuzuk*, p. 44. *Tazkira-Khushnawisān*, p. 26 (N.K. ed) p. 76.
13. *A'in* (Blochmann), p. 109.
14. Mohammad 'Azam claims to have acquired his autograph copy of *Mirāadul-Ibād*, a treatize on *Taṣawuf*. It contained 10,000 verses. The scribe has maintained symmetry, *Waqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 134.
15. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 135.
16. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 170.
17. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 170-71.

Painting :

Skilful Kashmiris had excelled in all kinds of arts and crafts but it is quite strange that they were deficient in a high degree of proficiency in the art of painting.

The remark of Taranatha, a Tibetan monk, regarding the existence of a Kashmir School of Painting had become a point of controversy among the art historians.[1] Karal Khandalavala, H.B. Havel and V. Smith suggest that the remarks of the Tibetan monk are partially correct.[2] They presume that the panel or fresco paintings might have been cultivated or were already existing in the *Ṣubah* at the time to the monk's visit in 1608, which would have led him to this conclusion.

In the light of above controversy the statement of Abul Faẓ'l that there was a group of five Kashmiri painters at the Court of Akbar is of great significance.[3] But we have not been able to acquire any piece of their artistic display. Furthermore, there is not a single evidence on this point in the chronicles. It is only in the late 17th centry that we come across the Basohali art which was an offshoot of Pahāri School of Painting. It bears the distinct features of Mughal art.[4] The late 18th and 19th century works of Hindu mythology contain a number of paintings similar ot the Pahāri Art.[5] But the colour combination and finishing is not so perfect as in the art pieces of Pahāri School.

It appears that the art of painting began to gain ground in the *Ṣubah* only after the disintegration of the empire. But it did not flourish there because the lack of any kind of patronage from the Afghans and the Sikhs, while the Hill Rajas extended liberal support to the artists, which resulted in the development of Pahari School of Art.[6]

1. Tara Natha, *History of Buddhism in India*, tr. Lama Chimpa, etc. etc. Simla, 1970, p. 446.
2. H.B. Havel. *The Art Heritage of India*, pp. 34 & 35n. Karl Khandalavala, *New Documents of Indian Paintings*, pp. 78-85. Percy Brown *Indian Painting*, p. 125.

3. Percy Brown, *Indian Painting Under the Mughals*. p. 189.
4. H.B. Havel, *The Art Heritage,of India*, p. 35.
See also W.G. Archer, *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, Vol I.
5. See the collection of Sanskrit and Hindi section in Research Library, Srinagar, Nos. 1159, 2302. (11 Paintings); 718, (11, 16 and 18) 889.
6. W.G. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Chapter III and IV.
G.M.D. Sufis presumption that there existed a school of painting in Kashmir is not supported by facts. The specimen of paintings in fresco on the walls of Barahdari of Nishāt and Shālimār does not indicate the work of any Kashmiri painter. The Mughal Court was always accompanied by the imperial artisans. *Kashir, II*, p. 557, P.N.K. Bamzai had also committed the same mistake. The love lyrics of Vilhana a Kashmiri poet of 11th century, are not definitely illustrated by a Kashmiri Artist in the 15th or 16th centuries, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 576.
Khandalvalas suppostion is that the paintings belong to U.P. or Delhi School, *New Documents of Indian Painting*, pp. 80-85.

The decay of the Sultanate and the loss of independence adversely affected the harmonious growth of the peculiar traits in the art of music which was the pride of the Kashmiri Sultanate. The Shah Mir Sultans in general, but Zainulābidin, Haidar Shah and Hasan Shah in particular were great patrons of this art.[1] Yousf Shah Chak and Habba Khātūn were fond of music and could play on various instruments. Mirza Haidar Dughlat also enriched the music of Kashmir by various instruments.[2]

In spite of linguistic difference, the Mughals patronized the musicians and rewarded them from time to time. Akbar had a group of Kashmiri musicians at his Court.[3] Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb rewarded the musicians and minstrels at the time of their arrival in the *Ṣubah*.[4] But towards the close of his reign, Aurangzeb directed the *Ṣubahdārs* to discourage the musicians and take away their instruments.[5]

Saints, Ṣūfis, and local mystics were very fond of classical music and the art thus was patronized by them.

Kashmir music had three distinct forms, *Ṣūfiānā-Mūsiqi, Chakri* and *Sahrāi. Ṣūfiāna Mūsiqi* never filtered down to the masses. *Ṣūfiāna* music flourished because of the Ṣūfis, who not only patronized this art, but were also fond of it, and remained the privilege of the aristocracy only. It is no wonder that it still retains the feudal characteristics.[6] *Chakri* (group songs) and *Sahrāi* styles were patronized by the common people.

Here it may not be out of place to refer to the *Baghats*. This tribe is almost scattered all over the *Ṣubah*.[7] Their services were required by the peasantry at the time of marriage ceremonies. This class of minstrels performed *jashans* in ḥonour of the emperors and *Ṣubahdārs* at the time of their arrival.[8]

Sāz, Santoor, Sitār, and *Dukrá* were the instruments required for *Sufiana* music. *Daf, Sarangi,* lute, and earthern pitcher were common musical instruments.[9]

Khwājā Momin Jaḥil, and Maulāna Khwāja Mohammad were two famous critics of music of our period.

Khwāja Momin Jaḥīl was son of Abul Qasim. Jaḥīl was pupil of Mulla Jawāhir Nānta famous musician of his time. Momin Jaḥīl was a close associate of Yousf Shah Chak, who was himself a lover of music.[10] He has written a treatise on music also.[11] Maulāna Mohammad was the pupil of Khwāja Momin. He excelled in this art during the reign of Shahjahan.[12]

1. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 271-72.
2. *A.N., I*, p. 198.
   Kāmgār Husain, *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngiri*, f. 132a.
   Abul Hasan, *Jahāngir Nāma*, p. 147.
3. *A'in*, (Blochmann tr.)., p. 681.
4. *A.N., III*, p. 541.
   Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, I (II), p. 53.
   See also Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb, III*, p. 100.
5. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, p. 100.
6. Qaisar Qalandar, *'Music of Kashmir'* article published in The Hindustan Times, April 4, 1976.
7. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 312. See also P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, pp. 569-575.
8. *Asrārul-Abrār*, 242a.
   J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb, III*, p. 100.
   See also Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma, I, (II)*, pp. 53, 54, 55.
   See Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 312.
9. *Tuzuk*, p. 294.
   See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 272.
10. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 159.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*

VI. The Mughal Gardens

The fanciful Mughal gardens highly elegant, exquisite and tasteful are scattered all over the Ṣubah. They still retain their grace, magnificence and artistic excellence. Historians, adventures, naturalists and poets paid eloquent tributes to the natural and scenic beauty and the decorative art pattern of the sublime grace and exquisiteness of the Mughal gardens.

The Mughal emperors were very fond of gardens and the valley of Kashmir in its profusion of superb natural beauty, its variegated foliage and its enchanting vernal flower growth afforded the natural ground for the efflorecence of numerous gardens and the enclosed monuments to shed lustre to the entire set-up. Right from the annexation hundreds of gardens were laid out by the emperors, the *Ṣubahdārs*, and other principal officers. Though the tradition of gardening and horticulture in Kashmir dates back to the period of the Sultans,[1] and even before, yet there were certain characteristics which were associated with the Mughals only.

The fencing, symetrical arrangement of the flower beds, presence of water and above all the existence of fruit trees within the garden were the peculiarities of the Mughal gardens. As a matter of fact the modern horticulture owes a great deal to the founders of these gardens. Experiments in grafting and the introduction of new fruit trees was virtually started with these gardens.[2] Most of the gardens were laid out around the Dal Lake and in the vicinity of the city. It is said that more than 700 gardens were found around the lake only.[3]

As mentioned above Akbar founded the township of Nāgar Nagar in 1597. A beautiful garden called Darshan Bāgh was laid out by him within the fortified city.[4] In 1622, Jahangir renovated the imperial palaces. Mu'tamad Khān was assigned this work.[5] A beautiful garden was laid out in front of the palace. It had three terraces and an art gallery was arranged in the centre of this square garden. This garden was called Bagh-i-Nūr-Afza.[6]

Bagh-i-Ilāhi

It was laid out by Yousf Khān Rizvi during the tenure of his office as Ṣubahdār in the vicinity of Batspora.[7] A canal, three yards in width was brought from the Sindh for the irrigation of this garden.[8] A pavilion

was built in the centre with a tank in the front. Rows of fountains were installed in it. It was beautified by the plantation of chinars.[9] Later on Shahjahān built two more pavilions on the either side of canal and included this garden among the imperial gardens.[10]

Bāgh-i-Naseem

It stands in a fine open position well raised above the Dal lake. A cool fragrant breeze blows throughout the day and night. It was laid out by Akbar,[11] and improved and enlarged by 'Aẕam Khān, Saif Khān, and Afẓal Khān.[12] It was enclosed by a massive wall and a canal was dug out from Lār defile to irrigate the garden. It retained its fame on account of its beautiful chinar trees. These were planted by Akbar and later 'Ali Mardan Khān also added more plants.[13]

Bāgh-i-Baḥar Ārā

It was laid out by Nūrjahān Begam in the midst of the Dal lake opposite Darshan Bāgh near Sodhra Khon.[14] It was divided into two terraces. A double storeyed pavilion was built during the reign of Shahjahān in 1635.[15]

Noor Bāgh

It was founded by Nūrjahan in the vicinity of Īdgāh. A branch of Shah Kul was brought through Zunimar for the irrigation of the garden.[16] It was famous for its fruits,flowers and chinars.[17] The garden is now in ruins but the mohalla which sprang up around it is called Noor Bāgh.

Bāgh-i-Irādat Khān

This garden was planted by Irādat Khān in 1618-19 near Nawapora. It was divided into various terraces. Cascades, fountains and chutes made of polished granite were its main peculiarities.[18] A magnificent palace was built in the garden which was destroyed by fire.[19]

Bāgh-i-Haidarābād

'Ali Mardan Khān laid out a splendid garden near Noushahra. It had many terraces. Tanks and fountains were built in each terrace. A canal was brought from Lār to provide water to the garden.[20]

Another garden was founded by him near Tel Bal and named Bāgh-i-Aliābād.[21] Fruit trees of various kinds were planted in the garden and the income from the fruits was annually sent to Mashad Sharif.[22]

Bāgh-i-Ṣādiqābād

Ṣādiq Khān, a noble of Shahjahān, laid out a beautiful garden on the bank of the Dal Lake opposite Shāla Mār Bagh. It consisted of a number of terraces. A canal from Lār was constructed for its irrigation.[23] Carved stone fountains were the striking features of this garden.[24] A mosque was built in it during the reign of Aurangzeb by Fāẓil Khān and the Holy relic of prophet was placed in it.[25] It is now known as *Haẓrat Bal.*

Choudhari Bāgh

Mahēsh Koul a Choudhari laid out a splendid garden comprised of 60 terraces near Ishabari.[26] Irrigation facilities were provided to this garden by taking out a channel from the Sindh.

Bāgh-i-Ẓafar Khān

In 1635-36, Ẓafar Khān laid the foundation of a large and beautiful garden on the bank of the Dal Lake. Ẓafar Khān offered the garden as a *peshkash* to Shahjahan during the latter's visit to this garden. On account of its vastness, it was named *Bagh-i-Tūlāni.*[27]

Bagh-i-Ẓafarābād, Bagh-i-Gulshan, Bāgh-i-Hasanābād were also founded by him during his tenure of *Ṣubahdāri.*[28]

Besides, the above mentioned gardens, we have the world-famous Shālimār, Nishat, Chashma Shāhi, and Harwan garden. These gardens are situated on the Dal lake in the background of a mountain.

Shālimār Bāgh

Shālimār is a village in the Phāk Parganah at a distance of 9 miles from Srinagar.[29] During Raja Parvarsen's rule (78-139 A.D.), a famous saint lived in the vicinity of Shala Mar. Raja Parvarsen laid out this garden in honour of the saint.[30] In the course of time it was reduced to ruins. Nothing was left there on its site except a natural water-fall.[31] On his tour in this area, Jahāngir was too much fascinated by the natural beauty of the area and he laid out a garden called Bāgh-i-Farah

Bakhash.[32] It was spread over an area of 7500 square yards. The canal passing through the garden was paved with stones under the supervision of Prince Khurram.[33]

The garden had three terraces with a tank in the centre of each division studed with fountains. A beautiful *Bārādhari* was built in the central postion.[34] Cascades and chutes were paved with coloured glazed tiles so as to heighten the effect of the reflection of the sky and the clouds.[35] *Chabūtarās* were raised in each division at the point of water chute. A high wall was raised around the garden and small cells were built on the four corners.

The Emperor Shahjahan visited the garden in 1636. The poplars and chinars planted some fourteen years earlier were in full bloom.[36] He directed Ẓafar Khān to add another garden adjacent to Farah Bakhsh. A tank forty square yards, was built in the centre. A *bārāhdari*, ten feet by eight, was also constructed in it. This part of garden was called Bagh-i-Faiẓ Bakhsh. It was reserved for the *herem* only.[37]

Nishāt Bāgh

It is situated at a distance of seven miles from Srinagar on the farthest end of the Dal Lake. It was the gayest of all the gardens and even surpassed the Shālimār garden both in layout, and design and architecture.[38] It was put up by Āṣaf Khān during the reign of Jahangir. In 1635, Āṣaf Khān hosted a feast in honour of Shāhjahān. He was highly impressed by the layout of the garden.[39]

The garden comprised 9 terraces and the last one was reserved for *zenāna*.[40] A magnificent palace was built in the *zenāna*. An 18 feet high arched wall separated the harem garden from the rest of the garden.[41] A channel about 13 feet wide runs across the garden foaming down from one terrace to other in the shape of cascades.

Each terrace was in itself a complete garden.[42] In the centre of each terrace there was a tank adorned with fountains made of stone.[43] Sexagonal marble *chabutaras* were erected in each terrace bridging the canal at the head of every water fall. These *chabūtaras* are fine examples of architecture. These marble thrones are a special feature of Nishāt garden. There were two *bārāhdaris* in the garden, one at the entrance and the other in the third terrace. The *bārāhdari* was a two-storeyed building in Kashmir-Mughal architecture standing on a stone foundation. It is fifty-nine feet long and forty eight feet wide.[44]

Besides the above stated gardens, the Chashma Shāhi, Bāgh-i-Dilāwar Khān,[45] Bāgh-i-Saif Khān,[46] Bāgh-i-Gangī Reshi,[47] and Bāgh-i-Qawāmuddin Khān,[48] were of considerable importance.

Chashma Shāhī

Chashma Shāhī, a famous spring of fresh water flows on the slope of Zebwan mountation in the Phāk Parganah about five miles from Srinagar. This spot was previously called Kūtlinā. It attracted large crowds of people during the summers. During a visit Prince Dārā Shukoh was impressed by the natural setting of the place. He laid out a garden and built a few houses and a mosque[49] on its site. A marble cistern originally built at Lahore was brought to Kashmir and placed over the source of this spring.[50] Subsequently, Jahān Ārā Begam laid out a beautiful garden around the spring and called it Chashma-Shāhi after the name of her preceptor, Mullā Shah Badakhshi.[51] C.M. Villiers Stuart has translated the Chaṣhma Shāhi as Royal spring.[52] It has presumably led Bamzai,[53] Dr Parmu[54] and Ferguson[55] to the eroneous conclusion that the spring garden was laid out by Shāhjahān, which is negated by the contemporary evidences.[56] There was another source of the spring above this one. Its source was widened by Hasan Raina a disciple of the Mullah to allow greater volume of water to gush out.[59] During 1649-50, Husain Beg Khān arranged a garden around this spring and built an edifice nearby.[60] Dārā Shukoh and Jahān Ārā Begum also added a few buildings to embellish the place.[61]

Other gardens spread over the valley were too numerous and it is difficult to describe each of them separately. But the Bāgh-i-Wafā, Bāgh-i-Shihābuddīnpora, Bāgh-i-Dārā Shukoh Bijbehāra, Verinag, Achiwal, Kokar Nāg, Islamābād, Machi Bhawan in other parts of the valley have won the eternal fame.

Bāgh-i-Shihābuddīnpora and Bāgh-i-Wafā situated below Srinagar and the rest of these eternal gardens lie in the Marāz division.

Shihābuddīnpora is a joyous spot on the confluence of the Sindh and the Jhelum.[62] It was developed during the reign of Jahangir. Chinar trees were planted in it and two pavilions were built in the garden.[63]

Bagh-i-Wafā

Mānsbal lake is at a distance of 15 miles from Srinagar and the garden was laid out on the right side of this lake near village, Ṣafāpur.[64]

It was founded by Mirza Haidar Duglat.[65] But improved upon andl renovated by Nūrjahān Begum.[66] In 1642, the garden was assigned to Jahān Ārā Begum.[67]

The garden was spread over the slope of Diyār-Lari mountain. It was divided into three terraces, tanks and fountains were installed in each terrace.[68]

Vērīnāg

The spring garden of Vērīnāg was most unusual of all the Mughal gardens. It is situated at the foot of thickly wooded hill-side about three miles below Jawahir Tunnel.

Crystal clear water bearing the reflection of the pine laden mountation in the background enchanted Prince Salim. He visited the spot in the company of his father and directed his officials to build a house for himself.[69] By 1622, the house was complete and a beautiful garden was also laid out in front of the spring. The basin shaped spring was embanked with heaven stones in octagonal position. Each side of the octagon was 17 yards long and the diameter of the spring was 40 yards.[70] A magnificent building was put up above the spring in brick and mortar.[71]

In 1636, Shahjahān visited the garden, but he did not like the layout and the buildings of the garden.[72] Malik Haidar was appointed as *Dāroga Bayūtāt* and directed to remodel the whole plan.[73] The existing main channel divided the garden but two smaller channels were then built for irrigation of the side gardens. A palace with a Turkish bath was built in the centre.[74] The garden was named Shahābād.[75]

Achawal Bāgh

It is situated at a distance of 6 miles from Islamābād. A small but a pretty garden was laid out there by Jahangir in 1622.[76] It was improved upon and renovated by Shāhjahān in 1636.[77] A pavilion was built in the centre of the garden. Later in 1641, a summer house was built in it.[78] The garden was called Sahibabad. In 1662, Aurangzeb assigned the garden to Zebunnisa Begum.[79]

The vigorous efforts made by the Mughals in developing the remote scenic spots into health resorts produced healthy and

beneficial effect on the economic life of the people. We have already stated emperors, ṣubahdārs, and other officials vied one another in laying out gardens and building monumental palaces and summer houses. Every one wanted to surpass his predecessor, with the result continuous development was constantly effected and these picnic spots too often visited by and reserved for the various categories of the ruling class became the tourist resorts. The modern tourist industry, as a matter of fact, owes a lot to the Mughals. The direct impact was no less beneficial. It checked the economic drain out of the Ṣubah to a great extent. The money realized from the people was diverted to this field. Enormous amount was spent over on these gardens and monuments.[80] Eight lakhs of rupees were alone spent in one year by Shahjahān on the buildings and gardens.[81] These gardens gave a fillip to horticulture also. Experiments on grafting and plantation of new varieties of fruit were also carried on in these gardens,[82] with too well-known and beneficial effects for the variety and exuberance of fruit industry in the valley.

1. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 249.
2. *Tuzuk*, p. 301.
3. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 110-11.
4. *Tuzuk*, p. 302.
   Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 111
5. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri*, III, p. 567.
6. *Tuzuk*, p. 302.
7. *A.N.*, *III*, p. 618.
   Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, I, p. 27.
   Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 37.
8. Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 37.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I, p. 28.
    Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 114a.
    Hasan's contention that the garden was laid out by Ṣhāhjahān is not correct. See *A.N.*, *III*, p. 618. also Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 28.
11. Lahori *Bādshah Nāma*,, II, p. 28.
    C.M. Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 158.
12. Lahori *Bādshah Nāma*, II p. 28.
    Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāma*, III, f. 606.

13. Stuart Villier is not correct in assuming that the *chinar* was introduced in the *Ṣubah* by ʿAli Mardan Khān, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 158. Even during his first visit Akbar saw massive worn out chinar trees in the Ṣubah, *A.N., III*, p. 548. See also *Tuzuk*, pp. 296-301.

14. Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, II, pp. 26-27.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, p. 113b.
Sodra Khon is an island in the Dal Lake. The lake is considered to be deepest around this place.

15. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Namā*, III, f. 317a.

16. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 114.

17. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāmā*, III, f. 605.
(Transcript copy of Department of History), A.M.U. Aligarh.

18. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 124-25.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 117b.

19. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 124-25.

20. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 140.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 117a.

21. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 141.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Ẓafar Khān Ahsan *Haft Maṣnavī*, f. 15.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 118a.

24. C.M. Villier Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 160.

25. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 191.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 118.

26. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 166.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, p. 118a.
Diwan Kripa Ram, *Gulzār-i-Kashmir*, p. 214.
Anand Koul, *Archaelogical Ramains of Kashmir*, p. 73.

27. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I, pp. 27-28.

28. Ẓafar Khān, Ahsan, *Haft Maṣnavī*, ff. 15-16.

29. In *Tuzuk*, p. 303, and *Ma'asir-i-Jahāngiri*, f. 133a, it is Shālā Māl but *A'in, II*, p. 173, has Shālā Mar, which is correct.

30. C.M. Villier Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 162.

31. *A'in, Ii*, p. 173.

32. *Tuzuk*, p. 303.
Ma'asir-i-Jahāngiri, f. 133.

33. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāma*, III, f. 315b.

34. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāma*, III, f. 316.
Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 34.

35. Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih*, II, pp. 34-35.

36. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāma*, III, p. 315b.

37. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāmā*, III, f. 317.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 24.
38. C.M. Villier Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 168.
39. Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 35.
40. Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāma*, III, f. 317.
Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 35.
V. Stuart States that three were 12 terraces in the garden. *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 168.
41. This wall is still in tact but the *zenānā* palace and the garden is in ruins.
42. Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 35
43. V. Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 171
44. See also Villier Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, pp. 166-68.
45. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 134.
46. *Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 165.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, p. 118b.
47. Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, II, p. 29
48. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 166
49. Tawakul Beg Kulābī, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhī*, ff. 56a-b
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, pp. 177-8.
53. *A History of Kashmir*, p. 594
54. *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 295-9.
55. Kashmir-*A Historical Introduction*, pp. 123-24.
56. Tawakul Beg Kulābī, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhī*, f. 56b.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 28b.
59. Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 56b.
60. Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 56b. Bamzai assumes that the garden was laid out in 1642 by Ali Mardan Khan is not supported by facts, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 594.
J.P. Ferguson, has also committed the same mistake. He states the spring garden was built in AD 1632 by ʿAli Mardān Khān. It is evident that ʿAli Mardan Khān had not even joined the Mughal service at this time.
61. Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 56b.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 117b.
62. At present it is know as Shādepora at the distance of 12 miles in the north-west of Srinagar in long. 74° 43' 34° 11'. See also *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 727.

63. *Tuzuk*, p. 294.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 29.

64. Long. 74° 43' Lat. 34° 16'

65. *A.N., III*, p. 556. Moorcraft states that the garden was laid out by Akbar is not born out by facts. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, etc. II, p. 221.

66. *Tuzuk*, p. 314.

67. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, p. 195.

68. *Tuzuk*, p. 313.
Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāma*, III, f. 317
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 195.

69. Elliot, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, p. 56.
Malik Haidar was assigned this work, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 230b.

70. *Tuzuk*, p. 313.
Iqbāl Nāma, Jahāngīri, III, p. 570.

71. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri*, III, p. 570.

72. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāma*, III, f. 328b.

73. Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāma*, III, f. 328b.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, *I*, pp. 52-3.

74. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, pp. 52-53
Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 43.

75. Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāma*, III, f. 328
J.J. Modi has raised a controversy over the date of the foundation on the basis of two inscriptions. He suggests that the work was started in 1029 and was completed in 1036 H. "Journal of Royal Asiatic Society Bombay, 1917-18, Vol 25, No. 71," pp. 64-73.

76. *Tuzuk*, p. 313.
Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāma*, III, f. 327.

77. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 51.

78. *Ibid*.

79. Mohammad Kāẕim, *ʿĀlamgir Nāma*, *II*, pp. 836-37.

80. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 267.

81. *Dastūrul-'Amal-i-Shahjahāni*, f. 18, Sulaiman Collection 675/53, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.

82. See Chapter II, Section III.
Villier Stuart, *The Gardens of Great Mughals*, p. 166.

Section III

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

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CHAPTER : X
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
I. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The period under review witnessed many developments in the economic field. We have already discussed the important features in the sphere of agriculture in Chapter II. It is appropriate here to deal with the main developments in industry, trade and commerce, condition of workers, their professions, the volume of foreign trade, imports, skilled and minor crafts and the like to give a complete picture of the society in the Mughal *Subah* of Kashmir.

In the rugged and hilly terrain of Kashmir, passes and routes connecting the various parts of the region with one another and access to the outside world were of paramount importance. It is thus appropriate to discuss the trade routes in Mughal Kashmir before coming to the discussion of trade, industry and such other aspects.

TRADE ROUTES

Surrounded by an unbroken chain of high mountains Kashmir was physically hampered to keep pace with the economic development of the rest of the Empire. Trade and commerce could not flourish on account of these natural restraints.[1] But this ring of mountains was pierced by various passes which established links with the outside world and ensured the needs of the land being fulfilled by contacts with the people inhabiting other lands. The Mughal occupation enhanced the importance of the *Ṣubah*, and a regular link was maintained with the rest of Empire. The routes received extra care and proper attention was paid for their maintenance.

Abul Faẓl states that there were twenty six routes linking Kashmir with the outside world.[2] The Central Asian trade route passed through Kashmir, connecting India with Central Asia. But only six routes were of great importance. These routes remained open for the most part of the year. Even during the winter months merchants traversed the routes though with great difficulties.

The Mughal paid great attention to the maintenance of these routes. Rivers were spanned with bridges,[3] and inns were built all along to provide shelter to the travellers. These steps gave a fillip to the trade and commerce of the *Ṣubah*.

The imperial or Mughal road, Muẓzafarbād-Pakhli route, Kashtawār-wardwan route, Zojilla route, and Punch route, were of great significance.[4]

MUGHAL ROAD

This route connected Kashmir with Gujarāt and it was frequently used by the Mughal monarchs.[5] It runs over the Pīr Pānjāl Pass, via Hastīvanj.[6] Greater part of the route is hilly. In 1589, Muhammad Qāsim Khān was directed to level and widen the route. Thereafter it was made passable for pack loads, ponies, mules and elephants,[7] but on account of its high altitude it remained closed during the winter months.[8]

Bhimbhar, the starting point for the valley attained great importance.[9] A strong force was stationed here during the visits of the Mughal emperors to Kashmir,[10] Heavy armour was also mounted on Bhimbhar.[11] Next halting place was Adhīdak. It is at a distance of 6 miles from Bhimbhar.[12] The important stages on this route were Saidābād,[13] Noushahra,[14] Chingas,[15] Rajouri,[16] Thanā,[17] Bahrāmgallā,[18] Poshiāna,[19] Aliābād,[20] Hirapura,[21] Shopiyān,[22] and Khāmpora.[23]

Most difficult part of the road was that which connected Noushahra with Aliabād; thence to Srinagar it was quite easily passable. It was studded on the side by over twelve inns which were located at Jahāngir Hati,[25] Noushahra,[26] Rajouri, Thanā,[27] Bahrāmgalla, Shāji-Marg, and Khāmpora.[28] These places developed into busy trade centres and their importance did not diminish even as late as the establishment of the Sikh rule over the *Ṣubah* in 1819.[29]

MUẒAFFĀRBĀD PAKHLI ROUTE

The route connected Kashmir with Rawalpindi and thence with Peshawar. It was also frequently used during our period. In 1589, Akbar left Kashmir by the same route because it was situated on a comparatively lesser elevation and snowfall too was not heavy there. He appointed Hāshim Beg Khān, son of Qāsim Khān, to widen the route below Baramulla.[30] The route remained almost traversable even during the winter months[31] and ponies and pack horses, elephants, and even heavy armour were carried on this route.[32] Jahāngir also issued orders to maintain the road in good order. In 1622, Noor-ud-

Din Quli was appointed to rebuild the road and span the rivulets.[33] He was assisted by Malik Ali also.[34] In 1640, during his visit, Shahjahān sent Raja Jagat Singh to repair this route,[35] and Husain Beg was deputed in A.D. 1655 for the same purpose.[36]

The starting point of the route was the ferry of the Indus near Attock.[37] It passed through Hasanabdāl up to river Kunhār.[38] The river was forded below Gadhi Habibullah at Shangraf Kani, on the border of Pakhli.[39] After crossing Kishan Ganga it moved along with the left bank of the Jhelum up to Baramulla. From Baramulla to Srinagar there were two routes. The route over the river Jhelum and Noupora-Pattan route.[40]

PUNCH ROUTE:

The easiest route connecting Punch with the valley was through Hāji Pīr Pass.[41] It was virtually an offshoot of Pakhli route. The important stages below Baramulla were Rāmpūr, Gori,[42] Hatinā, Haidarābād, Aliābād, Khota and Punch.[43] Another route shoots from Gori to Mari,[44] while Punch was linked with Jammu via Rajouri, Suran, Thanā, Rajouri, Dharamsāla, Akhnoor were important stages on this route.[45] It remained open throughout year and snowfall was quite insignificant.

Poonch was linked with the valley by another route also. It was across Tosamaidān Pass (14000). It was of great strategical importance, but on account of high elevation it remained under snow for more than six months in the year.[46]

KASHTAWAR ROUTE:

There are two routes leading into Kashtawār from Kashmir. From Islāmābād one goes by way of Singhpora[46a] and another via Dasu.[47] The first Mughal attack on Kashtawār was launched by the same routes.[48] It connected Kashtawār with Badrawāh and Jammu through Rāmban.[49] The road from Kashmir remained open for a longer duration but it was traversed on foot, and ponies were rarely used because of its uneven terrain.[50]

CENTRAL ASIAN TRADE ROUTE:

The road traverse nearly the whole of Ladakh from east to west.[51] It was passable during the period from March till November, but on

account of its commercial importance, the merchants very often used it during the winter season as well.[52] It connected Kashmir with Central Tibet, Kashgar, Yārkand and China. The trade of Kashmir with Bhutan, Nepal and Bengal was also carried on by this route.[53] As a matter of fact this route was the life vein of the woollen industry of Kashmir. The entire shawl wool was brought to the valley through this road.[54] A number of towns and market places emerged on sites along this route.[55] It was important both commercially and strategically. Mirza Haidar Dughlat launched his first attack on Kashmir in 1530 passing through this route and in the subsequent Mughal invasions on Little and Greater Tibet under Shahjahān and Aurangzeb the same route provided the passage and facilitated the task of the invading forces.[56]

On account of the high elevation and scarcity of fodder most of trade was carried on by the porters on their backs.[57] Horses, mules, and yaks, were also put into service.[58] The beasts of burdern were usually exchanged at Drās and Leh for onward march.[59]

From Srinagar to Baltal the road was quite comfortable passage even for all kinds of beasts of burden. Bāltal is about twenty miles from Sonamarg at altitude of 1157⁰ feet above sea-level.[60] From there begins mountinous track. Baltal was the last inhabited village on the side of Kashmir, and Matāyan lies on the other side of the Zojillā Pass at a height of 10700 feet. From here the route turned on along with the Drās river up to Kargil, and passed to Purīg valley as far as Waka leaving Pashkyum on the left side.[62] Leaving Waka river behind and crossed Namyika Pass (1300 feet). It then kept up with the defile and the river Kanji was crossed below Pholo Law Pass. Then it led to Lāmayūr.[63] From here it followed the course of Wānlā-chū to its confluence with the Indus below the bridge of Khallach.[64] Crossing the river Indus it moved along with the river past the valleys of Nurla, Saspul, Buzgo, and Pitak.[65] Near Pitak it left the river and moved North-East till it reched Leh. From Leh the outlets beyond take the form of about eleven routes crossing the Karakoram range of mountains.[66] But the route which was commonly followed by the merchants was the one leaving Leh behind. From here it was passing along with Lochela Khardonglā,[67] plans and crossed the Shayok below the confluence of Nūbrā river near Khelsar. It then passed along the valley of the Nūbrā river till it comes across Sasir Pass.[68] From Sasir it ascended the river Shayok. From Sasir Barangsa[69] it was divided into two branches. One

went along the left bank of Shayok while the other after crossing Shayok passed through Murgo and Bursa.[70] It laid through Depsong plain and crossed the Chapchaq[71] near Paloo. Next stage was Karakoram. The other branch was crossed above the confluence of Chapchaq up to Paloo. From Paloo the route led to the Chinese town of Tashigong.[72] It was here again divided into two branches, one led to Central Tibet and other to Yarkand.

Leh was linked with Sipti and Lahole also.[73] This route was used mainly by the merchants of India. The Tsprang Christian Mission had also used the same route. Unfortunately the maintenance of the route was not paid the attention by the authorities that it deserved.

The rivers were spanned by the swinging bridges and there were no *carvān sarāis* on the Tibetan routes which was a great lacuna in the administrative efficiency in the *Ṣubah*.

INNS:

Soon after the Mughal annexation a chain of inns spread over the main trade routes. During his first visit Akbar and his camp followers utilized their tents, but Jahangir in his visit of 1622 and his subsequent tours did not require tents for his encampment.[74] During the reigns of Shahjahān and Aurangzeb a number of new inns were built and the old inns were repaired and improved on.[75] The first inn was built by Muhammad Quli K͟hān at K͟hāmpora,[76] and Send-Barāri.[77] It was completed in 1597.[78] During the reign of Jahangir inns were built on the way side of the Pakhli route as well as on the imperial road.[79]

But it was under Shahjahān that a chain of magnificent inns was put up along with the imperial road. The main inns were built at Chingas, Rajouri, Thanā, Bahrāmgallā, Poshiānā, Hiraporā, Shāji-Marg, and K͟hāmpora. The *Sarāi* at Rajouri was built by Ẓafar K͟hān.[80] He was also in charge of Noushahra inn which was transferred to 'Ali Mardān K͟hān in 1641-42.[81] During 1646-47, another inn was built in between Noushahra and Bhimbar which was assigned to Islam Khan.[82] Jahān Ārā Begam also got an inn constructed at Hirapora.[83]

Shahjahān entrusted the administration of each inn to a noble of high repute.[84] This arrangement continued throughout our period. During his visit, Aurangzeb assigned the administration of Chingas *Sarāi* to Mohammad 'Aẓam, Rajouri inn to Mohammad Mu'aẓam, and Thana *Sarāi* to Murtaza K͟hān.[85]

Though these inns were basically built for the imperial use but inns for the travellers were also built on these sites.[86] In the course of time townships developed around these places. Obviously the travellers were supplied with the food, water and fodder besides shelter. References as to the charging of fee for stay in such wayside inns from those who sought shelter are lacking. This may be taken to suggest that such inns constituted a measure of public deal undertaken by the state to promote trade and travel and provide comforts to the imperial officials and troops to traverse distances through the rugged hilly terrains.

RIVER NAVIGATION:

River navigation was the main source of transport in the valley[87] but ponies[88], mules,[89] camels,[90] and donkeys[91] were used in the hilly tracks of the *Ṣubah*. Yāk was also used in the Little and Greater Tibet,[92] but the bulk of trade articles were carried on the backs of porters.[93]

There were 7500 boats in Kashmir in 1589 when Akbar visited Kashmir.[94] The cargo boats were known as **bahts** and the light boats called *Shikāras*. *Shikāra* was used for the general conveyance of the people.[95] During his visit, Akbar introduced some new type of boats of the Gujrāt and Bengāl models.[96]

1. Irfan Habib, "Government and Economic Life, p. 24." Cyclostyled article in the Seminar of the Department of History, AMU., Aligarh.
2. *A'in*, II, p. 169.
3. Nurullah Shostari, *Majalisul Mominin*, pp. 49-50
   Ṣadiq Khān, *Tarikh-i-Alamgiri*, p. 53a.
   Lahori, *Badshāh Nāma*, II, pp. 169-70.
   Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri, III, p. 559.
4. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, (I) II, p. 15.
   Iqbāl Nāma, III, p. 564.
   'Alamgir Nāma, p. 720
   Ma'asir-i-'Alāmgiri, tr (Sarkar), p. 26.
5. Fedric Drew, *Territories of Jamoo and Kashmir*, pp. 91-94, 156.
   Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 23, 393-84.
   Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 24.
   In A'in, II, p. 169, it is Hastivater.

6. *A.N., III*, p. 538. Beveridge has also accepted it as Hastīwater, p. 821. See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 24.

7. *A.N., III*, p. 538. Elephants accompanied Mughal Camp.

8. *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri*, f. 131.

9. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 390

10. *A.N., III*, p. 537.
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 390

11. *A.N., III*, p. 537. A small town in lat. 32°-8', long. 74° 8' about 150 miles from Srinagar.

12. *A.N., III*, p. 538, gives the name of place Adidat. But in *Bates Gazetter*, p. 163, and in the Survey map of Kashmir prepared by Montogomry in 1859, it is Adhidak. Beveridge names it as Aditak. *A.N. III* (translation), p. 819. It is called Kajidar Pass also. *A.N., III*, p. 538. In *Rannels' Map*, it is Uddi Duka. It is in long. 74°-11', lat. 33°-3'

13. Saidābād is about 13 miles from Bhimbar

14. Noushahra is an important town lying in the territory of Kashmir *Ṣubāh*. A garrison was always stationed here. *A.N., III*, p. 538; Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, p. 17. It was considered a gateway of Kashmir.

15. Chingas Long. 74°-18'-Lat. 32°-15', is half way between Noushahra and Rajouri. In *Bādshāh Nāmā*, it is Chouki Hatī, which appears to be a clerical mistake. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, I, p. 17. See Survey Map by Montgomary, Forster calls it Chingeque Hatti, *Early Travels*, p. 169.

16. Ancient Rajouri, *A.N., III*, p. 540, Rampuri of Montgomary's map. See also Forster, *From Bengal to England*, *II*, p. 349.

17. Thanā is 8 miles from Bahrāmgallā, and 14 miles from Rajouri, Beveridge, *A.N., III*, p. 832 n and 46 *kroh* from Srinagar, Lahori, f. 439b..

18. Bahrāmgallā is a village near Pir Panjal Pass (11400 ft. in lat. 33°-36', long. 74°-27', in the gorge of Ratinpir Pass.

19. Poshiāna is a village 30 miles from Rajouri

20. The ancient name was, perhaps, Dund, *A.N., III*, p. 541. 'Ali Mardān Khān built a *Sarāi* in its vicinity, and henceforth it was called Aliabad. See also Beveridge, *A.N., III*, p. 823.

21. A village 7 miles south-west of Shopyan in lat. 33° 41', long. 74° 46'.

22. A township of the same name in lat. 33° 44', long. 74° 53', 29 miles away from Srinagar.

23. Khampur is situated 10 miles south of Srinagar. See Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, 140n. In the text of *A.N., III*, p. 542, it is Khanpora. In the *map of Rennel*, while it is kanpour in *A Memoir of a Map of Hindoustan*, op.cit., p. 65. in *Gazetter of Kashmir and Ladakh*, it is Khānpura, in lat. 33° 56', long. 74° 52', p. 487.

24. Faiẓi, *Akbar Nāmā*, ff. 242a. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, *II*, p. 469. Muhammad Kāẓim, *'Ālamgir Nama*, p. 721.

25. Kumbu, *'Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, pp. 13-14, 16, 19-20, II, 18, 469. It is called Chingas also, Fredric Drew, *Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir*, p. 94. Forster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 169.

26. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 469.

27. Kumbu, ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih, II, pp. 22-23, 469.

28. Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih*, II, pp. 18, 22-24.

29. G.T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir & Ladakh*, I, p. 225. See also Rennel, *Memoir of A Map of Mughal Empire* pp. 132-138. The names are wrongly spelt which creats some confusion.

30. *A.N., III*, p. 371.

31. Kāmgar Husain, *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 131
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I. p. 15, *II*, p. 183.

32. *Ibid*. 27 n. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 76-77.

33. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 288, 291
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 182.
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 221a.

34. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 221a-b.

35. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 183.

36. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 416.

37. The distance between Attock to Srinagar is 96 *kos* 77 poles. *A.N., III* p. 584.

38. During our period the river was known as Nain-Sukh, *A.N., III*, p. 375. In the survey map of 1869, it bears both the names. A *Sarāi* was built on the left bank of Nain-Sukh river by Akbar, *Tuzuk*, pp. 221-2; *Iqbāl Nāma, III*, p. 559.

39. *A.N., III*, p. 377. Shangraf Kani is not traceable it should be Malgalee of the maps. See *Tuzuk*, p. 289 also.

40. *Tuzuk*, p. 292. *A.N., III*, pp. 557-58. Noupora is a village about two miles away on the left side of Srinagar Baramulla road. Beveridge suggests the name of this village Tapar, *A.N., III*, p. 846. Tapar is only four miles from Pattan.

41. *Iqbal Nama Jahangiri*, III, p. 564.
F. Drew, *Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir*, pp. 205-6.

42. A mud fort was also at Gori. It is an ordinary village fourteen miles from Rampur.

43. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 76.

44. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 76-77.
See Drew, Jamoo & Kashmir Territories, pp. 137-39.

45. Suran is a village 13 miles south of Punch in lat 33° 40', long. 74° 17'.

46. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 77.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 23-24.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 15.

46a. Singhpora is a village about 32 miles north-east of the town of Kashtawar in the lat. 33° 28' and long. 75° 37' on the Kashtawār side of Marbal Pass. *Bates Gazetteer*, pp. 343-45.

47. Dusu is 3 to 4 miles above Nowbagh in the lat. 33° 37' and long. 75° 28'. Kuṭhār is about 12 miles below this village. *Bates' Gazetteer*, p. 312.

48. *Tuzuk*, p. 295. See Chapter I, Section II.

49. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 76-78. See also Drew, *Jamoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 139-40. The author had traced more than five routes connecting Kashmir with Kashtawar. These were simply a combination of Pir Panjal and Mughal Route.

50. *Tuzuk*, p. 295.

51. "Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, XII, 1850," p. 378.

52. Desideri, *Travels (tr. Fillipo De)*, pp 74-75. Cunningham, *Ladakh, Political, Physical, etc.* p. 148. This route was followed by Father Desideri an Italian traveller in 1714. In 19th century another Italian traveller, Fillipo de Fillipi, also used the same route. I have taken help from their works mainly Desideri, *Travels (tr. by Fillipo De Fillipi)* and Fillipo-De-Fillipi, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Vol II.* The latter has also translated the Desideri's account into English. Ahmad Shah Naqashbandi a native of the *Ṣubah* has also provided us with a detailed description of this important trade route. It has been translated into English by Dowson Ross In "Royal Asiatic Society, London, Vol 12, 1850." Cunninghams accounts *Ladakh-Physical, Political etc.* substantiates our information. See also Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, etc. II, pp. 211-51..

53. Ahmad Shah Naqashband, "Route from Kashmir via Ladakh to Yarqand, tr. Dowson Ross, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 12. 1850," pp. 373-377.

54. *Tuzuk*, p. 300
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 402-3.
Desideri, *Travels (Tr. Fillipo-de-Fillipi)*, p. 53.

55. Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 74-75.

56. See Chapter I, Section II.

57. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 392.
Desideri, *Travels, pp. 20-21.*

58. "JRAS, London, 1850. pp. 373-4."

59. "JRAS, London, XII, 1850, pp. 373-4." Leh was an exchange market for the goods brought from Central Asia, India, and Kashmir. The carvans mostly exchanged their merchandize here and returned to their native lands.

60. Hahmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammū etc. etc.* pp. 415-17.

61. This range is called Kuknagīr, *Ámal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 58 Kāntil of Desideri, *Travels etc.* p. 73.
And Matāyan of Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political, etc. etc.* p. 148.
Zôji of *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 423.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 23.

62. Pashkyum is a large village, 5 miles from Kargil in lat. 34º 30' and long. 76º 15'.

63. It is situated half way between Kharbu and Nurla in long. 76º 50', lat. 34º 20'. From here a route leads to Zanskar also. Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 555.

64. It is known as Khalsi or Kulsī also situated in long. 76º 57', lat. 34º 19'. See also *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 486.

65. Pitak is about 5 miles south-west of Leh in long 77º 35', lat. 34º 10'. *Gazetteer of Kashmir* and Ladakh, p. 667.
Drew, *Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir*, p. 132.

66. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 166-67.

67. It is known as Leh Pass and Laochs La Pass also in long. 77° 42', lat. 34° 20'.

68. It is in the long 77° 40°, and lat. 35° 5' at the elevation of 17820. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 721. See also Cunningham, *Ladakh-Physical, etc.* pp. 224-25.

69. It was simply a camping ground, with a collection of stone wall enclosures to protect the travellers in long. 77° 50', lat. 35° 2' 35", elev. 15240'.
Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh, p. 235.

70. It is Burtsi of *Bates Gazetter, long.* 78° 5',
lat. 35° 10', elev. 16000, p. 246.

71. In *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 270, it is Chipchuk long. 79° 12', lat. 33° 45'.

72. Desideri, *Travels, (tr. Fillipo De Fillipi)*, p. 81.
It has been spelt by him as Trescigkhang. According to Ahmad Shah Naqashabandi, the name of the first town on the Yarkand border is Kakair; it was here that a Chinese garrison was stationed and custom dues were realised from the merchants.
"JRAS, London, XII, 1850," pp. 380-81.

73. William Moorcroft and George Tribeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc. II*, pp. 218-54, give a full description of Lāhūl Spiti-Leh route which he followed during his visit in 1835.

74. *A.N., III*, p. 725. *Tuzuk*, p. 292.
Iqbāl-Nāma Jahāngīri, III, p. 597.

75. Kumbu, *'Amal-i-Ṣālih*, I, pp. 22-25.
Mohammad Kāẓim, *'Ālamgir Nāmā*, pp. 802-4.
Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabu-Lubāb*, I, p. 301.

76. Faiẓi, *Akbarnāma*, f. 242a.

77. In the Text of *A.N., III*, p. 725, it is Nandi Brari perhaps a clerical mistake *Beveridge's translation*, it is Nari Brari, p. 1083, and Bernier calls it Sand-E-Brari *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 413.

78. *A.N., III*, p. 725. Faiẓi, *Akbarnāma*, f. 242a.

79. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabu-Lubāb*, I, p. 301.

80. Kumbu, *'AMAL-I-ṢALIH*, II, p. 18.
Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, I, pp. 18-20, II, p. 469.

81. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, p. 212.

82. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, p. 469.

83. The inn was called Khair Sarāi.
Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, p. 469.

84. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, I, p. 16.
Mohammad Kāẓim, *'Ālamgir Nāma*, p. 721.

85. Mohammad Kāẓim, *'Ālamgir Nāma*, pp. 802-4.

86. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, p. 20.

87. *A'in, II*, p. 170.
Abul Faẓl states that there were 30,000 boats in the valley which appears to be an exaggeration, *A.N., III*, p. 550. But the statement of Matâmad Khān appears to be correct, *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri*, II, p. 564.

88. *A'in, II*, p. 170. Kāmgar Husain, *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngīri*, f. 132. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri*, III, p. 566.

89. *Inshāi Harkaran*, f. 115a. Research Library, Srinagar.

90. *Ibid*.

91. *Ibid*..

92. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 415-17
A.N., III, p. 468.

93. *A'N., II*, p. 170.
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 392.
Desideri, *Travels*, p. 79.

94. See Supra 87.

95. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 141a-b.
The author states that there were more than 15 types of boats used for various purposes. See also Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 380-2.

96. *A.N., III*, p. 550.

II. TRADE AND COMMERCE

EXTERNAL TRADE:

Despite the natural barriers Kashmir kept excellent trade relations with Persia, Central Asia, Russia, Bhutan, Nepal, Bengal, and Patna.[1] In the course of time it was extended as far as Golconda and Bijāpūr.[2] In the 18th century Kashmiri merchants had started trade of medicinal herbs and such other products with the East India Company also.

Though the trade relations with Central Asian countries had a long antiquity, but owing to the ever-increasing demand of the shawls and other articles of luxury by the Mughal nobility and artistocracy the trade with these countries developed tremendously.[4] The Carvan route leading to Central Asia from Lahore via Srinagar was well-frequented and ramained always busy.[5]

The shawl remained the chief commodity of export and so the wool merchants had flourishing business. These merchants had almost monopolized the wool trade in the wool-producing regions of Ladakh, Gilgit and Central Tibet.[6] They had deployed their agents throughout this region to advance the loans and collect the shawlwool from the producers.[7] They had established their warehouses in Chinese Turkistan, Central Tibet, Lahasa, Nepal and Bhutan.[8] The bulk of the Shawl trade was carried on with Mughal India.[9] The Mughal nobility and aristrocracy was the main customer of this stuff.[10] In addition to the shawls, floor coverings like carpets, dhuries, and printed and embroidered sheets were also sold to imperial *Farāsh* *Khāna*[11] Silk worm seeds were imported from Gilgit and China, Tibet and they were reared on mulberry leaves.[13] The cloth was exported to India and Central Asia.[14]

SAFFRON

This costly condiment was cultivated in Pampore, Inderkot and Kashtawār. It was prescribed by the physicians as a medicinal herb[15] and was also used as a spice to flavour food with its fine fragrance.[16] It was exported to India,[17] yārkand, Tibet and China.[18] In the 17th and 18th centuries a small quantity was purchased by the English and the Dutch merchants too.[19] In the late 17th century Kashmiri saffron merchants had to face the competition from Nepali merchants who were transacting business at Patna.[20]

The prices varied from time to time. Abul-Faẓl states that the price of saffron varied from rupees 8 to 12 a seer.[21] Palsaert refers to the Kashmir saffron as costing rupees twenty to twenty four and that of Kashtawār 28 to 32 rupees per seer at Agra.[22]

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES :

Large quantities of vegetables and fruit were exported to India.[22a] The dry fruits made their way into the markets of Lahore,[23] Ahmedabad, Agra and Amritsar.[24] During the 17th century the fruit merchants reached as far as South India with the fruits.[25] Almonds, walnuts, apples, peaches, grapes, quince and quince-seed, melons and water-melons were the main fruits exported to the Indian market.[26] Grapes used to sell at 108 *dams* a maund.[27]

Some quantity of superior quality of rice known as *Janjan* from Rajouri was exported for imperial kitchen. During the Akbar's reign a maund was sold at rupees two.[27a]

FOREST PRODUCTS :

A large number of merchants were engaged in the trade of medicinal herbs.[28] These were exported to India and in the course of time English factors displayed interest in their purchase.[29]

SAUSSURSA LAPPA (COSTUS)

The root was obtained from the forests of the valley and exported to India. The root was famous for its medicinal properties. The factors at Surat and Ahmedabad were the main customers of this root.[30]

CALAMUS :

A large quantity of this herb was sold to the factors at Surat.[31] The Kashmir product was superior to that of Kabul.[32] It was sold at the rate of one mahmūdi per seer.[33]

AMBER BEADS :

There were two species of this herb. The merchants of Kashmir delivered the stuff to the factors at Surat at the rate of 40 mahmūdis and the superior yellow quality at 50 mahmūdis per seer.[34]

WARM WOOD:

It is an aromatic herb found in Kashmir at an altitude of 5000 to 7000 feet.[35] After distilation process it yields a dark green oil of intoxicating properties.[36]

It was for the first time purchased by English Factors during 1618 and 21. It was found highly nutritive and especially conducive to the sailors.[37] In the course of time huge quantities were purchased by them and each ship was provided with two hogsheeds of this liquor.[38]

Besides these articles various kinds of scents and flowers were also exported to India and sold at exhorbitant prices. Salix Caprea (Bed mushk),[39] scent of roses and flowers and musk deer[40] yielded handsome profits.[41]

PAPER:

Kashmir had provided a speciality in the production of fine paper.[42] It was in great demand in India.[43] Large quantity of paper was exported to Persia from Ahmedabad, which was presumably brought from Kashmir.[44]

Rajouri rice, and fowls from Kashmir were exported to India mainly for the royal kitchen.[45] Inkstands, trays, walnut wood boxes, spoons, silver and papermachie articles of various types were also in great demand in India.[46]

Feathers of okar and the coloured plumes of various birds were exported in large quantities. The nobility was the main consumer of these articles. They decorated their banners and headgears with these beautiful plumes,[47] but the bulk was supplied to Royalty.

Horses of various breeds both local[48] and those brought from Ladakh were exported to India.[49]

IMPORTS:

The main articles of import were salt,[50] shawl wool, cotton cloth,[51] cloves, mace, peper, silk worm seeds, turmuric, ginger,[52] and sugar.[53]

Like wool, salt trade was also a flourishing one. Since salt was not available in the *Ṣubah*, so it was imported from India.[54] On account of its high consumption, it was in great demand in the valley. The

labourers also received their wages in terms of salt.[55] It was brought from Bengal also.[56] Thanā had turned to be a salt mandi and the Kashmir merchants purchased it mainly from there.[57]

INTERNAL TRADE:

The continued peace and tranquility in the Ṣubah under the Mughal rule and the state administration served to boost the internal trade to an appreciable extend during the Mughal period.

In the 16th century, there was no systematic market system.[58] The business though flourishing, was carried on inside the houses.[59] But in late 18th century, the systematic marketing system got fully developed and separate markets were established as those of *bāzār ṣarāffān, bāzār Baqālia, Bāzāra Ṣabāga* (Chintz market) etc. etc.[60] Forster who visited Kashmir in 1783 saw the trade and commerce thriving like anything. He fully bears out the account of father Desideri who was in Kashmir in 1714.[61]

ARTS, CRAFTS, AND INDUSTRIES:

Rural population was mainly busy in the agricultural persuits and in petty handicrafts like cloth weaving, smithy, carpentry, oil pressing and animal husbandry. These crafts were also agro-based. The artisans even up to recent times received a share out of the village produce in lieu of their services.[62] As such a village to a greater extent remained self sufficient during our period. It supplied its basic requirements within the village.[63] Though the surplus produce found its way to the city, it was appropriated in the shape of land revenue and other cesses.[64] It return the villages received hardly anything from the cities and towns. This flow of village surplus in the course of time changed the economic life of the cities. It is an established fact that the Mughal aristocracy were chiefly unbanized people, and as such they lived in towns and cities. They laid out gardens around these centres and built lofty buildings.[65] All these factors led to the expansion of Srinagar in particular and other townships in general.

The urban centres turned to be the natural shelters for various types of artisans. It is, therefore, no wonder that the famous industrial centres of shawl manufacture flourished in the city of Srinagar.[66] Where more than 2400 looms were busy in the production of this costly stuff,[67] which filled the coffers of the *Ṣubah* with money.[68]

The skillful artisans were specialised in various techniques, designs, and artistic embellishments. The mode of production, the system of monopolization of resources and markets and concentration of surplus profits in the hands of mercantile community points to the emergence and growth of the capitalistic system under which the artisans manufactured the equisite shawls neither for the artistic display nor for the profit sharing. But the dexterous artisans were reduced to a state of semibondage, perpetuated by social compulsions and lived in wretched plight with their meagre wages.[69]

CARPET INDUSTRY

This industry flourished simultaneously with the shawl industry. Kashmiri carpets were considered superior to those imported from Persia.[70] The cost of a yard of superior quality exceeded over a hundred rupees.[71] There were state-owned *kārkhānas* apart from the private *kārkhānas*.[72] Besides, *gālichas, dhurries, gabās* and other floor coverings were also manufactured here.[73]

MINOR ARTS AND CRAFTS :

A good deal of iron, silver, brass vessels[74] paper machie[75] paper, wood carvings, and furniture of delicate nature[76] and boats of various styles were also manufactured in the *Ṣubah*.[77] Paper was made from rags, hemp fibre and silk[78] Soaps and other such detergents were also prepared by the people.[78a]

MINERALS

Though mineral exploitation in the *Ṣubah* of Kashmir was sadly neglected yet some effort was made to extract the earth's hidden natural treasures. Copper, iron, saphires, and salt peter mines were worked out in a minor scale. The iron was obtained from Shahābād, and Khrive mines mainly.[79] Iron ore was exported to Lahore also.[80]

Copper was obtained from 'Aishmuqām, Copper mines.[81]

Gold was mainly acquired from the sand of the Indus in Greater Tibet and Pakhli.[82] More than 2000 tolas of gold was collected in Tibet alone. Yet quality was inferior and it did not fetch more than seven rupees for a tola.[83]

1. Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 132-3, 317, Filip Yefremove, *Russian Travellers to India*, etc. p. 83. (Eng translation P.N. Kemp), Delhi.

2. *Kalimāt u Taibāt*, f. 75.
Mohd. Ṣādiq Khān, *Tārikh-i-'Ālamgiri*, ff. 207a-b.

3. *Factories, I*, pp. 18, 32, *VI, 315*.

4. "RAS, London, 1850, Vol XII," pp. 87-88.

5. *Jahangir and the Jasuits*, ed. Danison Ross, pp. 123-5.

6. Francke, *Antiquities of India Tibet*, pp. 115-16.
See also my article on "Shawl Industry in Kashmir during the Mughal period," Indian History Congress, 36th Session, 1975, Aligarh."

7. Desideri, *Travels*, p. 392.
Francke, *Antiquities of India Tibet*, pp. 115-16.

8. *History of Turkistan by Anon*, f. 1b, Acc No 3029, Research and Publications, Kashmir University. ed. Dr. A.M. Matto.
Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 132-3, 137.

9. Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 19.

10. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, p. 433. Plate No I Shawls 1794AD Qazvini, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, f. 259, *III*, p. 326b.

11. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, I, p. 448.
Waris, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, f. 373.

12. *A'in, II*, p. 170, *A.N., III*, p. 648, *Tuzuk*, p. 300. Watson, *Commercial Products of India*. p. 1016.

13. Desideri, *Travels*, f. 375
Gupta, N.S., *Industrial Structure of India*, p. 58
The silk worm seeds were probably brought from China as we do not get any information about the silk worm rearing in Tibet. The climate of Tibet was not conducive to silk worms & mulburry trees.

15. *Bayāẓi-Khushboi*, f. 25.

16. *A'in, I*, p. 55.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 342-43.

17. *A'in, I*, p. 55. *Tuzuk*, p. 294. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahangiri III*, p. 571. Lahori. *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 48.

18. Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 78, 317.
Vigne, *Travels in India*, II, p. 34.
Waddel, *Lahasa & Its Mysteries*, p. 478.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.

19. *English Factories, I*, (1618-1621), p. 169
See also Karl Fischer, "Indian History Congress, 1965," pp. 210-11.

20. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 73.

21. *A'in, I*, p. 55.

22. Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 35.

22a. *A'in, I*, p. 34. *Manucci, III*, p. 396.

23. Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 34-35.
Manucci, *II*, p. 174. *Tuzuk*, p. 173.

24. Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 35.

25. *Kalimātu-Taibāt*, ff. 45a-b.

26. Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 29.
Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 34-35.
Inshāi-Harkaran, f. 115.

27. *A'in*, I, p. 44.

27a. *A'in*, I, pp. 34, 44.

28. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 44.
Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, I, p. 30.
Inshāi Harkaran, f. 115a.

29. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 44.
East India Company Records, (1602-3), p. 32.

30. *Inshāi-Harkaran*, f. 115a.
George Watt. *Commercial Products of India*, p. 980.
See also Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 77, 83.

31. *East India Company Records*, (1602-3), p. 32.

32. *Ibid*.

33. *Ibid*.

34. *East India Company Records*, 1617, Vol 5, p. 109.

35. George Watt. *Commercial Products of India*, p. 93.

36. *Factories*, *VI*, p. 338.

37. *Court Minutes, East India Company*, November 20, 1618, See also Factories, Vol 6, p. 338.

38. Mr Mountney was appointed in A.D. 1618 as an agent to deliberate the transactions with the merchants of Kashmir *Factories*, Vol 6, p. 338.

39. *A'in*, *I*, p. 56.
Akhbārāt, 29 *Ramzān*, 45th R.Y.

40. Desideri, *Travels*, p. 78.

41. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 78. See also *Inshāi-Harkaran* and Akhbarat.

42. Badauni, *Muntakhabut-Tawārikh*, *III*, p. 202.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.

43. *Ruq'āt, i-Ālamgiri*, f. 160b. *Akhbarat*, 40, 44 R.Y.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.
Vigne, *Travels, etc*. *II*, p. 121.

44. *Factories*, *I*, 1618, p. 18.

45. *A'in*, *I*, pp. 34, 40, 41.

46. *Raqa'im-u-Karāim*, f 22. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 402, Manucci, II, p. 402.

47. *A'in*, *II*, p. 174. *Iqbāl Nama*, *Jahāngiri*, *III*, p. 571.
M.U., I, pp. 180-1.

48. *A'in* (N.K. ed), p. 64.
A.N., *III*, p. 824, *Tuzuk*, p. 301.

49. *A'in* (N.K. ed), p. 64,
Hamida-Khātūn Naqvi, *Urban Centres in Northern India*, p. 46.

50. *A'in, II*, p. 174; *Tuzuk*, p. 300

51. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 35-36.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 415.

52. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 35-36.

53. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 395.

54. *A'in, II*, p. 174, *Tuzuk*, p. 300
Iqbal Nama, Jahangiri, III, p. 571.

55. *A'in, II*, p. 174.

56. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 245.

57. Mohammad Murad, *Tuhfatul-Fuqara*, f. 43b.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 159.

58. *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 425.

59. *A'in, II*, p. 175.

60. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 8.

61. George Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, pp. 22-5.

62. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 60

63. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 119.

64. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 119.

65. See Chapter VII.

66. *Haft-Iqlim*, f. 214b.
George Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.

67. *Haft-Iqlim*, f. 214b.
George Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.
Checherove, *India-Economic Development*, 16th-18th centuries, p. 159.

68. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 403.

69. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 273.

70. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nama*, I, p. 448.

71. *Ibid.*

72. Wāris, *Bādshāh Nama*, II, f. 373.

73. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 562a.

74. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir*, II, pp. 5, 337.

75. "Akhbārāt, Ziq'ad, 48th R.Y."

76. *Raqāim-Karāim*, f. 22.

77. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh*, pp. 82, 83.

78. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.
Vigne, *Travels, II*, p. 121
N.S. Gupta, *Industrial Structure of India*, p. 114.

78a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 267a.

79. *A'in, II*, p. 175
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 63.

80. N.S. Gupta, *Industrial Structure of India*, p. 107.

81. Vigne, *Travels*, I, p. 325, II, p. 5.

82. *A'in, II*, p. 175.
Sajan Rai Bhandari, *Khulās-tu-Tawārikh*, p. 82.

83. Kumbu, *'Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 264.

CHAPTER XI
CONCLUSION

The Ṣubah of Kashmir constituted a very significent unit of the Mughal Empire as it lay in the region adjoining the Kabul province as well as touching the border of the Central Asian lands. Its southern boundaries were adjacent to the provinces of Lahore and Multan which were connected by a number of routes with the plains of the Punjab, which lent at compactness and unity with the rest of Mughal India. Its climate was bracing and healthful which attracted the Mughal royalty, nobility and the social and intellectual elite for frequent visits to the enchanting valley with its lofty mountains, superb beauty and majestic view on the banks of its lakes and rivers. It, therefore, became a first rate tourist resort to which the rich people flocked to pass the summer days in happiness and revelry particularly because to the Mughals, the Turks, the Persians and the Afghans who constituted the bulk of the upper classes, the scorching heat of the summer sun in the plains was intolerable.

It was no mere accident of history or a freak in the chain of events that prompted Akbar to undertake the extension of the Mughal rule to the region of Kashmir. It was in fact the logical culmination of the imperial adventure to bring about the annexation of Kashmir by any means or under any circumstances so that the defence of the Empire in the North-Western region should be completed by holding the regions of Kashmir and Kabul under the sway of the Mughals. To Akbar the subjugation of Kashmir was the fulfilment of an opportunity for the realisation of the dream of having impergnable natural frontiers with the outlying posts garrisoned with strong forces to repulse any attempts of invasion on the part of the Uzbeks or any other source of trouble to the Mughal frontiers in that region. A week Kashmir under the possession of the declining Sultanate of the Chaks with the faction fight among the nobles could have fallen an easy prey to the cupidity of the rising power of the Uzbeks through Gilgit and Ladakh and could have further posed a threat not only to Kabul but to the Mughal possessions in the Punjab also. It would have checked the imperial ambitions in the South as the Emperor's hands would have remained tied down with the affairs of the North-West. So it was indispensable to Akbar to bring Kashmir under his direct rule and

consolidate his power through maintaining a strong army and enforcing vigorous administrative measures so as to render it an effective safeguard against any misadventure by an external power and to overawe opposition within Kashmir with its other units aimed at restoring the Chak Sultanate or any other insurgent move. Moreover, the weakness of Yousf Shah and Yáqūb Shah in cumbating the Mughal advance tactfully and vigorously as well as the intrigue and treachery of the Kashmir nobility together with the perennial Shia-Sunni conflicts darkened the horizon of Kashmiri politics and frustrated all hopes of putting up a stubborn and successful opposition to the Mughal enterprise. Consequently the kingdom of Kashmir lost its independence and became a regular province of the Mughal Empire in 1586, which though it proved advantageous to the Kashmiris in many respects by widening the scope of their economic and social activities and developments in many fields in the *Ṣubah*, yet it restricted the full growth of the people of Kashmir to rise to the stature of independent living according to their own choice and wishes and the continuity of institutions and traditions which independence alone can bringforth. Here in lies the significance of the debacle inflicted on the Kashmiris in 1584 and 1586 as it stunted the growth of the natives as self-governing people which further deteriorated in the form of subjugation under the Afghans and the Sikhs on the fall of the Mughal Empire. It further engendered the loss of spirit; enthusiasm and fervour and curbed the martial characteristics of the Kashmiris. This sentiment was voiced by a number of contemporary Kashmiri historians who were gravely shaken and grieved at the loss of the power from the hands of the local people and passing-off the kingdom of Kashmir to the possession of the Mughals.

The annexation of Kashmir brightened the prospects of the Mughal empire and within a period of two years from the fall of Kashmir Akbar convened a war council during his visit to Kashmir in 1589 at which the decision of the conquest of Kabul was taken, ostensibly with a view to restricting the expansion of the Uzbek Empire in that direction. Thereafter the strategically important principalities of Kashtawār, Punch, Pakhli, Little & Greater Tibet, Rajouri and Noushahra were reduced to submission and merged with the Ṣubāh to widen the scope of the defence of Kashmir. It signified that drawing up of the political geography of large part of modern Kashmir by the Mughals.

Despite the many disadvantages latent in the annexation of Kashmir from the Mughal occupation brought about many good things to Kashmir. The administrative machinery which was thrown out of gear during the decline of the Chak power was streamlined and made effective. The land revenue system in particular was reshaped and brought in tune with the administration prevailing in the rest of the empire introducing annual and periodical checks and auditing of chances of cheating and embezzlement were reduced in the accounts and revenue. The institution of auditing was introduced by the Mughal practice of *Barāmdi*. The judicial, police and general administration was formed on a firm footing. The litigants had free access to the Courts and officials. The Courts of the *Qāẓis*, the executive and revenue officers dispensed justice. The *Ṣubahdār* also set a law court to redress the grievances of the complinants, even the Emperor was accessible to the offended parties for the dispensation of justice. The imperial officers, the *manṣabdārs* and *jāgīrdārs* were ordered to refund the illegal cesses and *abwabs* which they realized from the people, yet cases of officials indulging in corrupt practices, misappropriations and illegal exaction on record yet they constitute exceptions and not the rule.

The uniformity of administrative system, abolition of the toll tax, improvement and extension of the routes boosted the trade and commerce of the Ṣubah. The peace and tranquility in the region as well as the change in the agrarian conditions rehabilitated the shattered economy of the Subah after the Mughal conquest.

The woollen textile of Kashmir entered into a world market through the medium of export trade of the Mughal Empire. It enriched the Ṣubah and promoted the industry enormously. The wool merchants monopolized the trade in the wool producing areas, and important feature was that the Kashmiri merchants were henceforth seen in Nepal, Patna, Ahmedabad and Aurangabad.

The Mughals introduced the cash nexus in the Ṣubah. In the initial stages it created some problems but in the course of the time worked well. The payment for external trade was made by the *Hundis*. The revenue was partially realised in kind but it was commuted into cash by disposing of to the grain merchants. An important feature of the period under review is the emergence of a middle class which monopolised the woollen textiles, shawl industry in the urban centres and at a later stage the revenue farming.

The Mughals spent enormous sums on the construction of monuments, gardens and development of health resorts. Even the petty officials also emulated the example of their masters in this regard. Thus the bulk of the revenue was spent over in the development of the Ṣubah.

The Mughal conquest had also given rise to the feelings of distrust and dislike among the Kashmiris towards the conquerers and there was no love lost within the ruler and ruled for a long time. We find better relations subsisting by the time we come to the Aurangzeb's reign, yet it would be equally incorrect to say that the Kashmiris were altogether ignored in matters of appointment to public offices. We find a number of Kashmiris serving the Mughals in other parts of the Empire, Iba Chak, Husain Chak, Shamsi Chak, Malik ʿAli, Malik Haidar, Yousf K͟hān, Mulla Mohsin Fānī. A large number were given *manṣabs* and *jāgīrs* during the reign of Aurangzeb. Malik Haidar and Malik ʿAli were given *jagirs* and title of *Rá́isul Mulkand Chugtāi* was conferred on Malik Haidar by Jahangir, Mulla Mohsin Fānī was appointed *Ṣadr* of Allahabad and Mulla Muhammad Yousf was appointed as a *Waqiʿa Navīs* of the Mughal Embassy to Iran by Shah Jahān, ʿAbdul Karim Kashmiri was conferred the *Foujdāri* of Dalamoni by Aurangzeb, besides, a number of Kashmiris were given minor posts. But we cannot ignore the fact that prestigious posts were usually assigned to Irānis, and Tūrānis. The Indian element was only a later development. Favourable climate, scenic beauty and continued peace as well as attentive and devoted following was enough incentive to the Ṣūfis, saints and scholars to settle in the valley. They belonged to various nationalities and groups. This gave rise to a phenomenon of new social behaviour and humanitarianism. Naqashbandi and Chishti orders were introduced and flourished during our period. Islam was introduced into the farflung areas of Ladakh and Kashtawār. The dissemination of the Shiʿā faith was checked by the extension of the mystic movements and indirect result of these ṣūfi movements was the disintegration of the indigenous mystic order called the Rishi order. The sectarians feelings aroused by the orthodox rulers like Mirza Haidar Duglat and the Chaks were still alive. But in the course of time, under the strong rule of the Mughals sectarian feuds and feelings were suppressed.

Some modern historians have attrabuted the loss of martial spirit among the Kashmiris totally to the establishment of the Mughal rule.

But the martial spirit of the Kashmiris though immensely diminished by the prolonged Mughal occupation had other factors to influence it adversely. The Buddhist, Shaiva, and Ṣūfi infiuence also dampened it. With the exception of Sultan Shihābuddīn the other Sultans were contented with the territorial limits of their kingdom. We cannot ignore the unfortunate fact that a band of 300 soldiers under the Mirza Haidar Duglat could defeat the Kashmirians in 1533 and again in 1540. Even Muhammad Qāsim Khān entered the city of Srinagar in 1586 without any hinderance. It is thus abvious that the loss of martial spirit was to some extent the outcome of a process initiated much before the establishment of Mughal rule, but it was in fact destroyed by the Mughal occupation.

The Mughal conquest was a turning point in the cultural history of the Ṣubah. The mass scale contacts enriched the already copious cultural heritage. Cultural life attained a new dimension. Persian became the popular language. *Gulistān, Bostān, Karimā Nāmihaq* of Sādi, *Pandnāma* of Aṭṭār and *Diwān-i-Hāfiz* were committed to memory. The era produced historians, scholars, and poets of the highest order.

The Sanskrit language was eliminated because it lost the state patronage and had no firm ground among the masses. Art, architecture and garden culture entered into a new phase of development.

It was the Mughal period which opened the way for European travellers. Jerome Xavier, Bendict De Goes, Palsaert, Bernier, Desideri and Father Fryre came to the enchanting valley during our period. Through their accounts and writings they introduced Kashmir with its novalities to the European world, which in long run helped in the growth and development of modern tourist industry and foreign trade, and other contacts and aroused their interest in the land, the people and the masterly crafts of Kashmir. Who can deny the impact of the world famous poem Lalla-Rukh composed by Thomas Moor on the minds of the Europeans. The aristocracy turned crazy to have a glimpse of this beautiful valley.

The remarks of Sir Jadunath Sarkar regarding the socio-economic and cultural conditions of Kashmir at the close of our period cannot be swept aside. It is quite strange that a historian of his eminence and calibre could pass sweeping remarks on the basis of isolated and stray references and attribute the ruin of Kashmir to the atrocious rule of Aurangzeb. This would be going too far in making simplified assertions. The evidence contained in the accounts of St. Xavier, Francisco Palsaert, Bernier, Desideri, Father Fryre and lastly George Forster on the one hand and Abul Faẓ'l, Jahangir, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Malik Haidar, Nārain Koul 'Ājiz and Mohammad 'Azam on the other leads us to the conclusion that though the Mughal occupation had hampered the growth of the Kashmiris to their full stature yet the socio-economic order ushered in by the Mughal conquest in 1586 led to the attainment of many tangible results in the overall developments in the fields of administrative, social, economic and cultural institutions.

Nevertheless, during the later Mughal period the administrative efficiency decayed and chaos and confusion was rampant which ultimately led to the disintegration of the Empire and Kashmir passed into the hands of the Afghans.

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Appendix - I

LIST OF SUBAHDĀRS APPOINTED FROM 1586 - 1752

S. No.	Name of Ṣubahdār	Racial extraction	Rank at the time of appointment	Year of appointment	Name of Nāibi Ṣubahdār (if any)	Sources
1.	Mohammad Qāsim Khān	Irāni	3000	July 1587	—	*A'in*, I, p. 160, *A.N.* III, p. 496, *M.U.*, III, pp. 62-66.
2.	Yosuf Khān Rizvi	Irāni	2000 M.U. 4500 p. 160 (N.K.) Ed.	1587	Yādgār Mirza who revolted in the year 1592	*A'in*, I, p. 160; *Muntakhib-ut-Tawārikh*. II, p. 392, *M.U.* III, pp. 314-16.392
3.	Mohammad Quli Khān	Irāni	1500/600	1594-95		*A.N., III*, p. 654; *Kewal Rām*, f. 200; *MU. II*, p. 186, *III*, pp. 342-44.
4.	Āṣaf Khān (Qawāmu-ud-Din Jafar Beg)	Irāni	2500	1597-98		*A'in, I*, p. 161 (Blochmann tr.), p. 452; *A.N.*, III, p. 732. Faiẓi, *Akbar Nāma*, f. 242a; *Kewal Rām*, f. 47.

JEHANGIR

5. Mirza Ali Akbar Khān	Tūrāni	4000	1606	*Tuzuk*, p. 11; *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngiri*. f. 37. *Kewal Rām*, f. 194
6. Nawāb Qulich Khān	Tūrāni	800/500	1607	*Tuzuk*, 53, 79; *Baharistan i-Shahi*, f. 211 *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 123
7. Ṣafdar Khān alias Hāshim Khān, son of Qāsim Khān (latter was given the title of Safshikan Khān)	Irāni	3000/2000	1612	*Tuzuk*, p. 97; *M.U.*, II, pp. 736-738 *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 123.
8. Ahamad Beg Khān	Tūrāni	2500/1500	1615-16	*Tuzuk*, pp. 194, 233; *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 124 *MU* I, pp. 126-27
9. Dilāwar Khān Nakar	Tūrāni	4000/3500	1618	*Tuzuk*, pp. 225, 311; *Iqbāl Nāma, III*, p. 529 *M.U. II*, pp. 9-14; *Kewal Rām*, ff. 62-63.
10. Irādat Khān	Irāni	1000/500	1620	*Tuzuk*, pp. 314, 332; *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir* p. 214, *M.U.* I, pp. 174-80

11. I'tiqād Khān	Irāni	4000/30[illegible]	1622		*Tuzuk*, pp. 335, 348, 366; *Iqbal Nama III*, p. 580, *M.U. I*, pp. 180-1; *Lahori I*, p. 432.

SHAHJAHAN'S REIGN

12. Khwaja Abul-Hasan	Irāni	6000/6000	1632	Zafar Khan	*Kambu, I*, p. 493
13. Zafar Khan	Irani Re-appoint-ed	3000/2000 2nd time	1632-3 1644-45		*Lahori, I*, p. 474 *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*,
14. Ali Mardān Khān	Irāni	7000/7000 Reappointed 2nd term	1638-39 1639	'Ali Beg Zulqadar 2000/1600	*Lahori, II*, pp. 125-26; Kambu II, pp. 298, 300, 337. *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 62b. *M.U., II*, pp. 84-85.
15. Shah Quli Khān	Turani	3000/2000	January 1641		*Lahori, II*, pp. 223; *Kambu, II*, p. 337
16. Tarbiyat Khān	Turani	2500/1500	1642		*Lahori, II*, pp. 225, 282-3; *Kamboh II*, pp. 338, 360.
17. Murād Bakhash	Prince	12000/9000	1647		*Wāris*, I, f. 6.
18. Husain Beg Khān	Irani	1500/1000	1648		*Wāris, I*, f. 36; *Nuskha-i-Ahwāli Shāhi*, f. 62a.

19. Lashkar Khān alias Ashraf Khān	Tūrāni	3000/2500	Sept. 1658		*Mohammad Kāzim*, p. 195
		AURANGZEB			
20. I'tamād Khān alias *Ashraf Khān*	Irāni	2000/500	Sept. 1658	Ashraf Khan	*Mohammad, Kāzim, p. 196* *Narain Koul 'Ajiz*, p. 105a. M.U., I, pp. 272-74.
21. Ibrāhim Khān	Irāni	5000/5000	1661		*Mohammad Kāzim*, p. 426; Storia, II, p. 220
		2nd term	1677-78		*Narain Koul 'Ājiz*, p. 105a; *M.U., I*, pp. 295-301.
		3rd term	1702-1705		*Mir'at-i-Ahamadi*, p. 357; *Akhbārāt, Jamādi*, I, 44 R.Y.
22. Islām Khān alias Mir Ziya-ud-Din	Tūrāni	5000/3000	1661		*'Alamgir Nama*, p. 634; *Narain Koul 'Ajiz*, p. 105a *M.U.*, I, pp. 217-20 *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 164. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 285.
23. Saif Khān	Tūrāni	1500/700	1665	I term	*ƐAlamgir Nāma*, p. 832 *Narain Koul 'Ājiz*, p. 105a.
			1671-72	II term	*M.U. II*, pp. 489-93
24. Mubāriz Khān	Tūrani	2500/2000	May 1669		*'Ālamgir Nāmā*, p. 957. Ma'Aṣir-i-'Ālamgiri, p. 53. *Akhbārāt*, 21, Rabi II, 12 R.Y. *Narain Koul 'Ājiz*, p. 105a. *M.U., III*, pp. 595-96

25. Iftikhar Khān		..0/1000	15.9.1671	Mir Sultān Husain	*Ma'asir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 69 *Narain Koul Ājiz*, p. 105a. *M.U., I*, pp. 252-5.
26. Qawām-ud-Din Khan	Irāni	3000/2500	29.5.1676		*Ma'āsir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 92. *Storia, II*, p. 237 *Narain Koul 'Ājiz, p. 105a.* *M.U. II.*, p. 109.
27. Hafizulla Khan	Indian	3000/2000	1687-88		*Akhbārāt, Safar, 33, R.Y.* *Narain Koul 'ājiz*, p. 105a. *M.U., III*, pp. 171-77.
28. Muzaffar Khan alias Mohammad Bagā	Irāni	–	1691		*Birbal Kachroo,* *Narain Koul 'Ajiz*, p. 105a.
29. Abū Nasar Khān	Irāni	3000/2500	1694	Abu Fateh	*Narain Koul 'Ājiz*, p. 105a. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 294. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 189; *M.U.*, pp. 292-3
30. Fazil Khān Burhān-ud-Dīn	Irāni	2500/1200	1697	Mir Abdul Rahim 300/200	*Akhbārāt, 29 Muharam,* 45 R.Y., Sādig Khān *Tarikh-i-'Ālamgiri*, f. 168b; *Ma'asir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 235; *Narain Koul 'Ājiz*, p. 106a, III, pp. 34-38.

31. Nawāzish Khān alias Mukhtār Beg	Tūrānī	2500/2500 (5002-3b)	1706	Musharaf Khān	*Gouhar-i-'ālam*, p. 299; *M.U., I*, pp. 246-47
		2nd Term	*1711*		
		LATTER MUGHALS			
32. ᶜJafar Khān	*Irani*	*6000/6000 (1000x2-3b)*	*1709*	'Ārif Khān Abdullāh Khān Dehbedi	*M.U.I*, pp. 531-35; *Narain Koul 'Ajiz*, f. 105b; *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 210-11.
33. Ibrāhim Khān Alias Ali Mardān Khān	Irani	5000/5000	1709	"	*M.U.,I*, pp. 295-301
34. Inayatullah Khān	Kashmiri	1500/250	1711	Amānat Khan Musharaf Khān (only for three months)	*M.U., II*, pp. 828-32; *Wāqiāt-i-Kahsmir*, pp. 240-41.
		2nd term	1712-13		
		3rd term	1717-20		
		4th term	1724-25		

35. Sa'ādat Khān alias Saiyed Husain Khān	Tūrāni	6000/5000	1713-1717	Ali Mohamad Khān Mir Ahmad Khān	*M.U., II*, pp. 524-27. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*
36. Abdul Ṣamad Khān alias Saifudaula	Tūrāni	7000/7000	1721-23	Monim Khān 1721 Abdul Barkat Khān 1721, 'Ārif Khān 1722, Najeeb Khān 1723	*M.U., II*, pp. 514-17. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 234-35
37. 'Aẓam Khān	Irāni	4000/4000	1723-24		*Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. pp. 235-36 *M.U., II*, pp. 247-53
38. 'A qibat Khan	Tūrāni		1725-1727	Abul Barkāt Khān	*Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 242
39. 'Āghar Khān son of Imām Qūli Khān	Tūrāni	3500/3000	1727-1729	"	*M.U., I*, pp. 274-77. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p.* 242
40. Sayed Mir Khwfi Alias Amir Khān	Tūrāni	5000/5000 (3000x2-3b)	1729-36 1731-36	Ihtirām Khān 1731-36	*M.U., II*, pp. 42-56, 476-77. *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 247
41. Dil Dilir Khān	Indian	5000/5000 (3000x2b-3)	1736-37 Khan	Jalil-ud-Din Khān (1737-3)	*Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 247 *M.U., II*, pp. 42-56

42. Fakrhudaulah	—	6000/6000	1737-1738	Qazi Khān	*Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 250
43. Inayitullah Khān II, son of Inayatullah Khān I	Kashmiri		1738-1740	Hisamud-Din-Khān 1738 Abul Barkāt Khān 1738-44.	*M.U., I*, pp. 310-21.
44. Asadullah Khān alias Muhammad Ibrahim	Indian	6000/6000	1740-1744	"	*Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 251
45. Mir Muhammad Muim Sa'ādat Khān Abū Mansūr Khān	Irani	2000/1000	1745-48	Jan Nisar Khan 1745 Sher-Jang	*Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 251
46. Quli Khān	—	—	1751-52	(Afghan Rule, Starts)	*Wajizut-Tawārikh, f. 51b*

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